

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 6

Dec. 20-26, 1976

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

40 Cents



Construction workers demonstrating in fall 1969 against Jesse Jackson's campaign for equal employment in the building trades. See our story on the blacks and women in the labor movement. **Page 6.**

Photo by Paul Sequeira



Iva Toguri D'Acquino alleged "Tokyo Rose," on federal courthouse steps in San Francisco, where she petitioned to have her citizenship restored. **Page 17.**

Photo by Gary Freedman

In this issue

Manley wins in Jamaica **3**
Record voter turnout gives socialists a big majority

New U.S./Africa policy urged **10**
Rep. Charles C. Diggs writes In These Times exclusive

Prostitution in the community **12**
Streetwalkers and local residents express their views

Mary Travers **20**
She talks about her music and what it means



A woman in Sonora, Mexico, waiting for land promised as part of a redistribution plan announced by outgoing Mexican president Luis Echeverria but held in abeyance by Jose Lopez Portillo, the new president. **Page 9.**

Photo by Atelier Photo

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week in July and the third week in December by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc.

James Weinstein
Editor

Doyle Niemann
Managing Editor

Ken Gleason
Foreign News Editor

Janet Stevenson
Cultural Editor

Judy MacLean
Dan Marschall
David Moberg
Bonne Nesbitt
National Staff

Jane Melnick
Jim Rinnert
Kerry Tremain
Art/Production Staff

Timothy J. Naylor
Advertising/Business Director

Torie Osborn
Circulation Manager

Carol Becker
Office Manager

M.J. Sklar
Editorial Associate

Library Staff: Bill Burr, Judee Gallagher, Steven Rosswurm.

Bureaus: John Judis, Joel Parker, San Francisco; Sarah James, Tim Frasca, Washington.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs, Arthur Kinoy, Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Harry Magdoff, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, Paul Sweezy, E.P. Thompson, William A. Williams.

Main Office

1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622
(312) 489-4444
TWX: 910-221-5401
Cable: THESETIMES, Chicago, IL

Washington Office

P.O. Box 21072, Washington, DC 20009

San Francisco Office

4120 Telegraph Av., Oakland, CA 94609

News Services

Africa News Service, Congressional Quarterly News Service, Editorial Research Reports, Gemini News Service, Internews, Liberation News Service, Pacific News Service, Peoples Translation Service, Reuter, Zodiac News Service.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1976 by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume any liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes will not be returned. Mail subscriptions, address changes and adjustments should be sent to *In These Times*, Circulation Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$15 annually. Advertising rates sent on request; write *In These Times*, Advertising Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622.

All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form.

Printed at the Merrill Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.



This edition published Dec. 20, 1976, for newsstand sales Dec. 20-26.

Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Illinois.

NEWSFRONT

Season's cheer, more and less

Less in Britain

And the word was: Less. Actually, it was \$4.13 billion less that Denis Healey, the British chancellor of the exchequer, announced Dec. 15 in the way of government spending cuts on food subsidies, housing and education. The cuts were mandated by the International Monetary Fund, the U.S.-controlled lender that has agreed in exchange for the cuts to lend Britain \$3.9 billion.

Len Murray, general secretary of the powerful Trades Union Congress, made it clear the unions didn't like the heaviness of the cuts by saying the so-called social contract between labor and the Labor government "would be adhered to with less good grace than before," as Reuter put it. The party's leftwing *Tribune* Group also came in angrily. But it appeared little was being effectively done politically to actually fight the cuts.

And more in Qatar

In Qatar the next day the word was: More. Eleven of the 13 members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries raised the price of crude as of Jan. 1 by 10 percent. Saudi Arabia—the world's largest oil exporter—and the United Arab Emirates will raise the price 5 percent. The "hawks" wanted increases up to 26 percent, while "doves" were afraid a big rise would further trigger the world recession. Oil prices have been frozen 15 months.

And it hits the poorest worst

Meanwhile, in Paris Dec. 13, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development said the international recession has hit worst the Third World's 40 poorest nations—nations with per-capita incomes of \$200 annually. The OECD said it looked to the postponed North-South Dialog to ease the way into the future.

Christmas to decide on tax cut

That sluggish economy needs a remedy in the U.S. too. President-elect Carter said in Atlanta Dec. 13 that he will study Christmas retail sales closely before deciding if tax cuts are needed. Carter said, through a spokesman, that his first priority on taking office Jan. 20 will be to create jobs, particularly in the homebuilding industry. Carter will consult the Democratic-controlled Congress first on the issue, the spokesman said.

Eurocommunism a no, no

In Sofia, Bulgaria, Dec. 16 Alexander Lilov, the Bulgarian Communist party leader, told a nine-nation Communist ideological conference that "Eurocommunism," the Italian brainchild, was a reformist theory that was not "real socialism," which he called a key theory of Marxism-Leninism. "Criticism of this concept," Lilov said, however, "does not mean criticism or struggle against some West European Communist parties, but against bourgeois ideology, which has circulated and noisily advertised the fabricated concept of Eurocommunism."

The conference, however, struck out traditional references to the Soviet party's special role in the movement and dropped the Leninist formula of "proletarian internationalism" to define relations between Communists. The conference came within six months of a West



The fourth presidential debate

European Communist party conference at which Moscow accepted Western Communists' right to go their own way.

Paris workers strike

In Paris the day before, at least 75 percent of the 130,000 public-sector gas and electricity workers staged a 48-hour strike following a call by five trade unions. The stoppage was to protest a recent management decision denying a 2 percent living cost increase next year.

Business as usual in Germany

In Bonn, West Germany, the next day, just as Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was mounting the Bundestag steps to present his annual major address (in which in relatively well-off Germany it was business as usual), the government labor and social affairs minister, Walter Arendt, resigned—ostensibly because the ruling Social Democratic coalition wants to go more slowly on worker participation in the boardroom.

Pregnancy and abortion around the world

In Rome Dec. 13 the battle began again on abortion reform—this time with the results expected to be passage of a bill. The bill introduced Dec. 13 would allow abortion in the first 90 days, with the decision up to the woman. Abortions have been illegal in Italy since Fascist Benito Mussolini introduced legislation "to protect the race." Pro-abortion forces, including the Communists, have a 4-vote margin in the 630-seat Chamber of Deputies, sufficient to outvote the Vatican-backed Christian Democrats.

Meanwhile, in the Hague the next night, an abortion-reform bill was defeated by seven votes in the Senate. The bill passed the lower house 83-58 in Sep-

tember. A new bill is expected to be introduced after general elections next May.

Finally, a U.N. report released that day in London said a surprisingly high number of seemingly sophisticated people with access to birth control devices still risk unwanted pregnancies. In a Canadian study, 20 percent of sexually active students risked unwanted pregnancies while in a U.S. study, 11.5 percent of the women became pregnant against their wishes, 26 percent of married women wanting to delay pregnancy didn't and 14 percent of those wanting to prevent pregnancy failed to do so.

"Some women may view pregnancy as proof that they are still young, feminine and desirable. Some men may view impregnation as a sign of their masculinity," the report noted in a somewhat sexist way.

Geneva stalemate

In Geneva, Switzerland, Dec. 14 the stalemated conference on Rhodesia's future was adjourned with only the date of liberation, March 1, 1978, agreed on between the black nationalists and the white-minority government. Ivor Richard, the British conference chairman, is expected to tour southern Africa and to bring everyone back to the conference table by Jan. 17. War may erupt in the meantime, however.

Gilmore still trying

Finally, in Salt Lake City, Utah, Dec. 16 Gary M. Gilmore, the man who said he wanted to be executed, did it again: He overdosed on some pills in his second apparent suicide attempt, within a day of the U.S. Supreme Court allowing a go-ahead on his execution. The sentencing judge did just that, setting the date for Jan. 17. Gilmore then asked to be released because Utah had not, according to law, carried out the original sentence within 60 days.

IN THE NATION

Controversial appointments



Blumenthal, Carter, Adams

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

The big news last week in the ongoing saga of President-elect Carter's transition was appointments—W. Michael Blumenthal as treasury secretary, Rep. Brock Adams (D-Wash.) as transportation secretary, Charles L. Schultze as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Zbigniew Brezezinski as national security adviser and Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.) as U.N. ambassador.

Carter appears to have run into unexpected trouble in finding blacks and wo-

men to fill cabinet-level positions. All the nominees are men and only Young is black. Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, former vice president of IBM who was under consideration for commerce secretary, declined the post last week, citing family and health reasons. Franklin Thomas, black head of the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corp. in New York, said he too had been offered a position in the Carter administration, but had declined.

Meanwhile, controversy surrounds at least two other possible Carter appointments. The leading contender for defense

secretary is reportedly Harold Brown, head of the California Institute of Technology. But strong opposition to Brown is brewing among conservative Democrats and organized labor who favor former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, considered more of a hardliner on defense issues.

John Dunlop, former labor secretary under Presidents Nixon and Ford, is considered to be frontrunner for Carter's labor secretary. He is also backed by organized labor. But last week a coalition of groups, including the National Organization of Women and the Congressional Black Caucus, sent Carter a sharply worded letter expressing their opposition to Dunlop. They charged Dunlop resisted affirmative action both at labor and at his old job at Harvard. They said they were making public their objections to let Carter know that choosing Dunlop would be viewed with the utmost seriousness by crucial sectors of his electoral coalition.

► Economic issues.

Beyond the informed gossip and speculation about cabinet selections, economic issues continue to dominate the transition process.

With nearly everyone agreeing on the need for some form of stimulus for the slumping economy, the Carter camp is weighing the possibilities. Business is eager for the \$15 billion-plus tax cut talked about a few days ago. The tax cut is seen as a way to put extra spending money in the consumer's pocket and increase demand.

Bert Lance, soon to head the Office of Management and Budget, said the U.S. is already suffering from a recession and warned that the goal of reducing unem-

Continued on page 4.

Manley wins by landslide in Jamaica

By Terry Williams
Reuters News Service

Kingston, Jamaica. Within an hour of his landslide election triumph Dec. 15, Premier Michael Manley told Jamaicans that tough times lie ahead.

The country must make even greater sacrifices to emerge from its economic recession, he said. The days of "frills and soft options" were over.

He appealed for unity, assuring all Jamaicans their country needed them, and ordered his followers to take their victory with modesty and responsibility.

Incomplete results show Manley's Peoples National party had won 42 seats and was leading in five while the opposition Jamaica Labor party held only six seats and led in six.

Opposition leader Edward Seaga had argued during the campaign that the close ties Manley had forged with Cuba meant that the party would turn Jamaica into a communist state.

Manley said the voting showed the people treated such allegations as "a lot of irrelevant nonsense. Obviously the people have rejected this in a very, very decisive way."

One result of the big endorsement of Manley's philosophy of democratic socialism may be that he will move, with pressure from radical young politicians, to his left.

Within minutes of his victory, Manley was asked whether he had been given a mandate to move quickly toward socialism. The prime minister replied he did not see he had been given a mandate to move faster or slower.

However, the party's left wing is growing in strength and the handsome election victories of its three leading personalities—Arnold Bertram, O.M. Duncan and Anthony Spaulding—could increase their stature.

One main interest in the election was whether Manley would manage to win support of the poor, uneducated, low-income workers who have been the Labor party bedrock since the party was formed by Sir Alexander Bustamante more than 30 years ago. It seems clear he did succeed, canceling a heavy Labor swing by the urban middle classes.

Analysts said the reduced influence of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) helped the collapse of Labor. The BITU has always been the main source of worker's votes for Labor, but it appeared to have lost some of its ability to sway voters, analysts said. Analysts are asking if Labor can survive and in what form.

One noted the party had been outmaneuvered in the center and the left and despite its record of populism had been treated by voters as a party of the right.

which party holds power is ultimately decisive. The U.S. and its "trilateral" partners (Western Europe and Japan), said Blumenthal, "have much more in common with each other than we have with any other part of the world."

Thus, behind the gentlemanly agreements lie the developed world's obvious community of interest and, although discreetly left unsaid, the power to sustain it.

Blumenthal is eager for a "bipartisan consensus" in international economic policy as well as traditional diplomacy. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, he told his March audience, has suffered "a distressing inability to pick the right issue with which to rally American public opinion." Blumenthal will probably join Secretary of State-designate Cyrus Vance in seeking the low profile. Indications are, however, that behind the soft speech will lurk the traditional big stick.

—Tim Frasca

Blumenthal: soft sell for big profits

The smart money is back in town with the selection of Werner Michael Blumenthal to be Secretary of the Treasury. The \$400,000-a-year head of the Bendix Corporation, a veteran of both private and governmental economic work, is a liberal business executive in the Carter image and can be expected to be a voice for economic policies that will be soft sell, yet guarantee a steadily improving profit picture for U.S. companies.

Blumenthal was one of 15 men from the traditionally Republican world of high level executives who met President-elect Carter in Plains last week. The executives, who represented Xerox, IBM, Coca-Cola, GE, DuPont, and Morgan Guaranty Trust, among others, urged a quick stimulus to the economy in almost the same form that Carter's advisors were already proposing.

Such bipartisan agreement reflects the growing business consensus that putting people back to work in under-utilized plants is the best remedy for the sluggish economic recovery that threatens to reverse the improving profit margins of U.S. companies.

Blumenthal's practice both in industry and government has been to smooth out the peaks and valleys of commerce and maintain steady upward progress. In an article in *Nation's Business* entitled, "Making Money in Bad Times and Good," Blumenthal explained that Bendix's success in earning money even during recessions was due to close attention to combatting the effects of the business cycle, the sharp rise and fall of demand for its products. Operations were

intended to balance each other so that while some were down, others were up.

Blumenthal also helped reduce the dependence of Bendix on federal contracts, which 10 years ago accounted for one-half of the concern's business. Now government purchases total only one-fifth.

In government service Blumenthal had a parallel role in attempting to rationalize trade. He chaired the U.S. delegation to the so-called "Kennedy Round" negotiations in Geneva to lower tariff barriers with major trading partners and was the President's Deputy Special Representative for trade negotiations from 1963-67, involved in long-term agreements on textiles, coffee and cotton.

The 1962 coffee negotiations are an illustrative case in point. Coffee prices had experienced wide fluctuations that may have been profitable to speculators but were causing havoc in producing countries and disturbing consumers. Blumenthal, wielding the power of the U.S.'s 40 percent of world coffee consumption, arrived at the stalled producers' talks and was "very persuasive," according to an old State department colleague. "He exercised leadership," said the official euphemistically, and price-stabilizing supply quotas were established.

Blumenthal has expressed opposition to the watered down Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, while maintaining that he favors "creation of jobs for all." The Humphrey-Hawkins bill was part of the Democratic party's electoral platform.

Blumenthal was also present at the Punta del Este conference in Uruguay which

launched the Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress, whose motivations, said an American University professor of Latin American history, were "half idealistic and half capitalistic." The perceived threat of Castro-style communism spreading throughout South America stimulated what another academician called "the final, most extensive effort of liberalism to try to lift Latin America up by its own bootstraps."

Although Blumenthal had little to do with the alliance after its formation, its collapse has not dissuaded him from a new liberal solution to Third World militancy and hostility toward the advanced capitalist countries (called "North-South relations" in the developing jargon). Reflecting a general trend in policy-formulation circles, Blumenthal said North-South diplomacy should be raised to the level of importance of the perennial East-West concerns.

In a speech before the Detroit Council for World Affairs on March 25, Blumenthal called for "international agreements to regulate the behavior and activities of the multi-national corporations." He envisioned accords with Third World countries to control the multinationals' ability to influence or corrupt the "host" countries' governments. In return, the companies would receive further safeguards against expropriation of their holdings.

The optimistic notion that formal controls and responsible behavior can solve power and wealth relationships also characterized the early years of the alliance. But, as the alliance discovered,

Stop strangling cities, says conference

By David Moberg
National Staff Writer

Hartford, Conn. The businessman on the plane from Chicago to Hartford had finally become desperate in the lengthy argument about solutions to the unending American urban decay. "Well, maybe we'll just have to scrap the cities," he said. "Just let 'em die."

That may be a common sentiment as businessmen continue to abandon the apparent sinking ships of older northeastern cities. Fortunately, 450 people less interested in scrapping the cities than in scrapping the government and business policies that have been strangling them gathered Dec. 10-12 in this painfully decrepit city—where the income of 60 percent of the population is below poverty level.

The assemblage of mayors, councilors, city and state administrators, academics, community activists and representatives of public employee unions departed in important ways from the current chorus of cutback and austerity sounded by the "new conservatives" and "cheap liberals" in state and local governments.

A positive program and lots of federal money are needed to save the cities, nearly everyone agreed. But activists at the conference—one of a series sponsored by the two-year-old Conference on Alternative Public Policy, associated with the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies—do not propose an urban official breadline on Pennsylvania Avenue. They want public control of wealth and resources needed for cities to serve people who live in them.

►Interested in basic block of capital.

"Cities as Indian reservations living on transfer payments is unacceptable," Victor Hausner, research director of the National Conference on Urban Economic Development, said.

David Smith, a public policy conference coordinating committee member, laid out the challenge even more dramatically. "We are not interested," he said, "in \$6 or 7 billion from the federal government, but rather in the several hundred billion dollars in insurance companies, banks and public treasuries. We must move away from allocating marginal amounts of capital to allocating the basic block of capital."

Many debated proposals were first steps toward greater public control of the nation's private and public money that can be put to work producing goods and services. More money for city

services, grants for experimental projects or payments to the poor were not the proposals' primary goals. Rather they sought money to start businesses, rebuild neighborhoods and stimulate economic development.

Also, unlike most federal proposals aimed at affecting overall national aggregates of growth, income and employment, conference proposals were designed so public officials might direct investment to specific regions or neighborhoods, to projects that are labor-intensive and therefore job-creating, to production

Seven years ago city councilor Nick Carbone ran for office because he was angered at poor city services for the south end. "One of the few things you can do in city government," he concluded, "is that you can become an advocate for the working poor."

that is environmentally sound and matched to community needs, and to "ventures"—as public businesses are often called—that are decentralized and democratically controlled.

Although the word was scrupulously avoided by most conference participants, the logic of many projects was clearly socialist—"social control of capital," as someone put it.

This city is a fine example of problems of the northeastern cities and of how local governments can counter the destructive strategy of federal and state governments.

►Hartford.

An old mixed-business city largely dependent on one insurance company and an aircraft firm, Hartford in the last decade lost 85,000 jobs. Residents of the ring of suburbs surrounding it have captured most of the remaining central city jobs. The Hartford unemployment rate is 25 percent; 43 percent of Connecticut's welfare caseload lives here.

Seven years ago city councilor Nick Carbone, then 33, ran for office because he was angered at poor city services for the south end. Forced by black uprisings to confront the question of how slums are made, he discovered policies that hurt the city also hurt very poor and working-class people. "One of the few things you can do in city government," he concluded, "is that you can become an advocate for the working poor."

He did that. The city challenged electric utility rate increases and established the principle that rates should be set on the basis of ability to pay. As Democra-

tic party and city government leader, he directed Hartford to contest insurance rates. Suburbs were sued for failing to meet affirmative action standards. Suburbanites were enlisted to help save Hartford.

Plans for community-controlled businesses are being implemented. A few small enterprises are run through the board of education as part of job training. The city has also bought out sections of downtown real estate. Soon it will start production of solar-energy units in an old city-owned factory.

Carbone hopes to build a good record of municipal profitability in such enterprises and then begin to shift public pension funds, a huge capital source now in private investments, into publicly owned firms.

One imaginative plan through the school district will use government transfer payments for welfare, manpower training and unemployment compensation to capitalize new businesses. The board will then hire people who would otherwise just receive the payments, giving them jobs and greater income and providing taxes and a stimulus to further economic growth.

►Banks are the real rulers.

Banks, many officials and activists realize, often are a city's real rulers. "Cities are now like undercapitalized small business," state Sen. Chester Atkins of Massachusetts said. "Banks can shut your funds off and you go down the tubes. They can say, 'This is what you have to do to get money.' You might as well forget about being a public official, because if you don't do what they want, you go bankrupt."

Recently Paul Dubrui and Jack Newfield revealed in the *Village Voice* that New York banks precipitated the city's crisis by unloading vast amounts of municipal bonds. Robert Kuttner, a Senate Banking Committee staff member, explained one reason banks are dropping long-favored tax-exempt municipal bonds is that they have lately found even greater tax advantages through heavy investment in leasing operations.

Banks are chartered by the state to pro-

vide public service. Why not use that chartering power to gain more control over bank policies, people asked. Also, cities and states can use their bank deposits, 10 percent of the national total, to pry a few concessions out of banks. Colorado Treasurer Sam Brown now links state bank deposits with proof of banks making some better efforts at aiding small farms, students and low-cost housing. So far the impact of such linked deposits has not been well-documented.

►The possibility of a public trough.

People proposing state banks (such as the one in North Dakota) or state and regional development corporations were attuned to the possibility of such agencies becoming a public trough for the care and feeding of private corporations.

There are a host of important technical questions, too. For example, a state development fund that can advance risk or equity capital is far more useful and powerful than one simply making loans.

Such direct action was favored over the common indirect aids to private business, especially tax cuts. Bennett Harrison, professor of economics at MIT, argued strongly that tax incentives rarely encourage businesses to do anything they wouldn't do otherwise and ultimately are counterproductive.

Despite the emphasis on what could be done locally, federal policies were also conference targets. A final set of documents sent to President-elect Carter and to northeastern governors opposed any tax cut, called for reducing military spending and supported regional economic development proposals in addition to predictable demands for federal assumption of welfare and health care costs.

Better redistribution of federal income tax revenue also remains crucial for cities, since the property tax has been stretched past the breaking point in many places.

Despite the focus on technical policy matters, conference discussions did not avoid two central political questions: For progressive public officials to do anything, there must be a mobilization of popular pressure and initiative—and there also is a need for an overall direction to the cornucopia of proposals.

"It may be naive to say that we need a vision and a party," Geoffrey Faux, co-director of the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives, said, "but it is more naive to do what we've been doing for the last few years without a vision and a party."

Cracks appear in Carter coalition

Continued from page 3.

ployment by 1½ percent by late 1977 now looks almost impossible. When unemployment leaped ahead to 8.1 percent in November, the decision for lower taxes seemed all but made.

But not everyone is crazy about the idea. Many would like to see the \$15 billion the federal government will lose in revenues spent in other ways, such as aid to crisis cities and states. John Kenneth Galbraith wrote recently in the *New York Times*, "Federal tax cuts are urged while the cities are laying off desperately needed teachers, policemen and sanitation workers, and parks are being returned to jungle." While personal income taxes are reduced, says Galbraith, Massachusetts must increase sales and food taxes, which hit the neediest most sharply, by \$364 million.

Other economists argue the proposed cut will not benefit the poorest 25 percent of people in the country—those whose income is so low that they pay no taxes

already.

But the business executives who convened in Plains, Ga., last week from some of the most powerful U.S. industries favor reduction of personal income taxes. Outgoing Treasury Secretary William Simon, reported to be returning to Wall Street shortly, added the Ford administration's support to the tax cut v. increased federal spending of any kind.

The recent steel manufacturers' decision to raise prices brought sharp words from a Carter ally. Ralph Nader told a Washington conference, "The question is...whether or not Carter can control the corporations." The steel industry, Nader says, forced Carter to back down on wage and price controls.

Nader also blasted Carter for his cabinet selections and those under consideration, calling them "disappointments." Carter apparently sees the Treasury as "a plantation for bankers, the old-line, establishment, money-centered people," Nader charged. Appointees, he said, are "conservatives with high integrity" who

will "follow the wrong policies straight instead of crooked." Nader also said Carter had not sought his advice, as he had been led to expect.

In other transition developments:

•Outgoing Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) suggested Carter visit China and seek progress on the Taiwan issue. Mansfield said bluntly Taiwan had "very little significance to the defense of this country" and the Chinese could not be expected to "disavow the use of force over territory it considers intrinsically its own"—surely shocking remarks only 16 years after the Quemoy-Matsu debate. (Blumenthal, incidentally, is a member of two China trade associations.)

•Carter met with several amnesty activists and heard the case for broadening his Vietnam war pardon to cover the 750,000 mostly black veterans who received less than honorable discharges. Carter may declare his intentions as part of his inauguration address.

•An important conference in Paris was delayed until next year. Europeans, feel-

ing extremely dependent on U.S. policy decisions, abandoned any discussions as meaningless until they learn more about Carter's intentions.

•Former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford met with the President-elect and told reporters he was "extraordinarily comforted" by Carter's "deep desire to find the basis of understanding with the Soviet Union." That desire was conditional, however, as Carter said Dec. 14 that a lack of progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) with the Soviet Union might prompt increased American spending for defense. "If we can make no progress with the Soviet Union, which would be a very severe disappointment to me, then we would have to escalate our investment in strategic systems," Carter said.

•Meanwhile, all-but-forgotten Ford announced Dec. 15 that he had accepted a visiting professorship at the University of Michigan, his alma mater. He did not say what subject would be his concern, but joked: "You can be sure it won't be in Eastern European history."

Farmers organize for survival

By Judy Strasser

Eight thousand farmers, all members of the National Farmers Organization, sat down in Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 6-10 to figure out a fair price for the food that they produce. And when they were done calculating, NFO president Oren Lee Staley told them how to get that price.

"We are going to use the same economic policy and strength used when labor strikes for a higher wage or when the oil producing countries announce oil prices," Staley said. He told the farmers that the NFO would call a massive holding action, if necessary, to make sure its members got back the cost of production plus a "reasonable profit" for their goods.

The NFO has organized successful holding actions in the past. In 1967, NFO members held back milk production and, according to Staley, won recognition as a bargaining agent with many commodity buyers. Last year NFO members diverted Grade B milk (used in manufacturing powdered milk and other dairy products) from one market to another, a tactic they say increased prices by several cents per hundred pounds.

But that is the first time in many years that a farmers' organization has attempted to influence farm prices on such a major scale.

At their convention, NFO members set price goals for a number of commodities, including Grade A (fresh) and Grade B milk, wheat, corn, soybeans, cattle and hogs.

Their task for the next three months, until spring plowing, Staley told the farmers, is to go out and organize. The NFO will use a "Neighbor-to-neighbor" campaign to induce farmers to put their 1977 production in the NFO's collective bargaining system.

►Out to organize 30 percent.

Staley says that if the farmers can organize 30 percent of the production in each commodity, they can control the prices that they get. The NFO will first bargain with major food processors, as it has in



A grain commodity meeting where NFO producers worked out their costs of production and set their price goal.

the past, but if collective bargaining fails to achieve satisfactory prices, holding back 30 percent of production in any one commodity would create shortages and force prices up.

NFO spokesman Ben Strong told *In These Times* that farmers have been forced into organizing their production by an economic situation that is bleak and shows few signs of improvement. Prices in this past year, he said, have been so low that an unusually large number of farmers have simply closed down their operations and sold out. Livestock, dairy and wheat producers are all losing money.

Farmers' economic difficulties are reflected in the parity ratio, a figure that shows the relationship between the prices buyers pay for farm goods and the prices

farmers pay for other goods. The ratio, which has been dropping steadily, reached 66 percent in November—its lowest point since 1933. The NFO price goals are close to 100 percent of parity. This would return to farmers the same buying power they had in the period 1910-1914, when farm costs and prices are considered to have been balanced.

►Debt a constant factor.

High costs and low prices mean that debt is an established part of farm life. NFO spokesman Strong says that it has become increasingly difficult for small farmers to get production loans for machinery, seed, fertilizer, and agricultural chemicals.

Traditionally, banks have loaned farmers money despite falling farm prices because inflation keeps increasing the value of farm land, making it good security. But Strong said that many banks are now requiring farmers to show a positive cash flow—an excess of income over costs—before they will lend more money.

A.T. Jorgenson, manager of the Federal Loan Bank Association in Madison, Wis., says that his agency has always required that its borrowers show a positive cash flow in their farm operations, unless they can support their families from income earned off the farm. In those cases, he says, "all that they have to show is that they can cover the cost of production of the crop." But he agrees that this year farm prices have been so low that farmers can't even cover production costs.

Improvement of the farmers' economic position need not cost consumers anything, according to Ben Strong. Farm prices make up only a small part of the retail cost of food. Transportation, processing, and middlemen's profits comprise the rest. The farmer gets about 5 cents of the 60 cents a consumer pays for a one pound loaf of bread, for example. There is a "rigid and widening price spread" between farmer and consumer, Strong points out.

"Farmers," he notes, "could be paid a fair price without consumers paying any more."

But NFO president Staley warns that the urban and consumer-oriented congress cannot be expected to be sympathetic to the farmers' plight. Only 30 congressmen represent districts with farm populations greater than 15 percent. Staley told NFO members in Milwaukee. He said that Jimmy Carter's election does promise farmers more help than they have been getting. "We can expect better federal programs. But only farmers—organized nationwide and uniting their production for marketing—can assure cost of production plus a reasonable profit," Staley said.

Judy Strasser lives in Madison, Wis., and follows developments in farming and land for *In These Times*.

Legal precedent may undermine affirmative action

Minority students cite the Bakke decision as a blow against the few hard-won gains of the civil rights movement.

By Margie Cortes and Juan Gonzales

Programs aimed at integrating minorities into the American mainstream are under fire in what appears to be one of the most significant legal cases in the decade.

In mid-September, the California Supreme Court, in a case challenging affirmative-action admission practices at the University of California at Davis, ruled the use of racial standards was unconstitutional.

Allan Bakke, a 36-year-old Sunnyvale engineer, charged in his 1974 lawsuit against the U.C. Davis Medical School that he was the victim of "invidious discrimination" because of his race—he is white. He charged that special admission programs violated his constitutional rights under the 14th Amendment and that he was better qualified to enter the school than students admitted under the special program.

Special admission programs, like the one at U.C. Davis, were set in motion in the 1960s as a means of integrating minorities into the business and academic community. At Davis, the medical school each year admits 100 first-time students with 16 slots filled under the special admissions program by disadvantaged minority students.

In 1973 and 1974, Bakke applied for admission, but was denied each time. The court agreed with him that his constitutional rights were violated.

►Civil rights groups react.

California civil rights groups began reacting as soon as the decision was handed down. The Bay Area Third World Students Alliance issued a statement saying that "the recent California Supreme Court decision is another blow struck at the few hard-won gains in rights of minority peoples." They cited the fact that only 2 percent of all attorneys and less than 3 percent of all medical doctors and dentists in California are minorities.

Ed Salazar, assistant dean of students at U.C. San Francisco Medical School, said "the *Bakke* decision will give every weak-knee administrator in a university the chance to destroy affirmative action programs."

Demonstrations in Los Angeles and San Francisco against the decision were staged Oct. 21 to coincide with the university's request for a retrial. Six friend-of-the-court briefs were filed by prominent activist groups, including the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and the National Lawyers Guild, supporting the Davis program. The court refused to retry the case.

In mid-December, the U.C. Board of Regents decided to appeal the *Bakke* decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. The court is deciding whether it will hear the case further. A decision is not expected until next fall.

►An earlier case sidestepped.

There was a similar case in 1974, *Marco*

Defunis v. the University of Washington Law School. But in that case Defunis was allowed to attend the university while his lawsuit went through the courts, allowing the Supreme Court to sidestep the issue by declaring that since Defunis was so close to graduation there was no longer an issue at stake and the case was moot.

"This is an issue of vital public importance that has cried out for resolution since the *Defunis* case," U.C. attorney Donald Reidhaar said. "It is fair to state that if the opinion stands, it will have an impact throughout the university and for other state universities as well."

Many civil rights spokespersons object to the case going before the court on grounds that the university did not make an adequate defense in the state courts. Technically, the U.S. Supreme Court merely re-examines the case presented to the lower courts and judges the point of law.

Fania Davis, a prominent black activist and law student on the U.C. Berkeley campus, pointed out inadequacies in the university defense of the admissions program:

"Minorities' rights were not introduced into the evidence. Evidence of the history of discrimination at U.C. Davis was not brought to light, nor the fact that the affirmative action program was an answer to this history. The university did not even offer any oral testimony."

►Concern that case will expand.

Peter Roos, education director for

MALDEF added, "Our concern is not that *Bakke* is a disaster. We're concerned it will be expanded substantially by a hostile Supreme Court, ending educational programs and having a snowballing effect into employment practices."

As predicted, the *Bakke* case is already affecting other areas. Within weeks after the original California Supreme Court decision was handed down, white prison guards in Los Angeles filed suit against the state to change its affirmative action hiring program.

At the same time, Associated General Contractors of California sued in U.S. District Court to halt the San Francisco School District's practice of awarding 25 percent of its construction contracts to minority groups.

In both cases, the *Bakke* decision was cited as precedent.

To mobilize support for programs Civil Rights leaders have planned demonstrations and forums throughout California in January and February. The forums, which are for administrators, faculty and students, will focus on the legal implications of the *Bakke* case and corrective measures that can be initiated against racial discrimination.

Added Roos, "We will analyze special admissions programs to prove that they do not discriminate against whites. We want to make people vocal advocates of these programs."

Margie Cortes and Juan Gonzales are writers living in the San Francisco area.

These two pages conclude the first half of our 8-part series on the labor movement. The second half begins in February.

Seniority clashes with affirmative action

"That's where we come to a parting of the ways between the women's movement and labor," says Barbara Merrill as she shifts nervously in her chair. Affirmative action v. seniority is an issue "that puts everyone on the defensive," she says. Merrill should know—a black woman, she is president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in Chicago. An ardent trade unionist, she is also deeply committed to racial and sexual equality.

The last three years of economic recession has placed her and many other minority and women unionists in a contradictory position on the question of seniority v. affirmative action.

"We owe the women's movement a debt of gratitude for drawing attention to the equal employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act," she explains. "But from labor's perspective, it looks like the women's movement wants affirmative action to take the place of seniority. For labor to give up seniority would be going back 30 years—it's the basis on which the labor movement was built."

The dilemma could be solved, Merrill suggests, by cutting through the "rhetoric and emotionalism" and striving to integrate both principles. The mechanics of such a level-headed approach are difficult to imagine, however, in the context of massive layoffs, soaring unemployment and heated debate inside and outside of unions on whether seniority or affirmative action is more important.

Women and minorities remain concentrated in lower-paying "entry-level" jobs. Since they've only recently been hired in some industries, often through affirmative action programs, they are the first to be laid off under the "last-hired, first-

fired" principle followed by most employers. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported in a recent study that minority members and women have been disproportionately affected by lay-offs during this recession. Much of their limited progress has thereby "been obliterated."

Feelings run high on all sides of the controversy. Labor leaders refuse to compromise on seniority, the primary protection for union members against capricious firings by management. Women's and civil rights organizations argue that prevailing seniority systems perpetuate racist and sexist hiring patterns. Stuck in the middle are organizations like CLUW and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), which are securely tied to trade union structures but are supposed to protect the special interests of blacks and women.

While the burden of guilt for discrimination rests primarily on employers, the unions themselves have often served as junior partners in keeping minorities and women in lower-paying jobs or in excluding them from some industries altogether.

The extent of union discrimination is hard to generalize. Some unions blatantly discriminate against women and minorities, while others fail to fight energetically for their advancement. Still others actively organize these groups and defend their rights on the local level.

Black and women trade unionists contacted by *In These Times*, regardless of union, solidly supported the seniority principle. "Unionism is based on seniority—that's the whole crux of the system," commented Dorothy Gaines, recording secretary of a United Steel Workers local.

Outside of trade unions, however, reaction was more critical. "The seniority

system is based on racism," says Jim Haughton of the New York-based Fight Back organization. "In all industries and crafts there should be an equitable representation of nonwhites and women to make up for past discrimination. A seniority system should only commence from that point on."

"You just can't fight racism in organized labor from within because you're part of the system," Haughton continues. His organization has focused on forcing the construction trades to hire black and minority workers and is trying to build a coalition to demand government loans to rehabilitate houses in New York city. This program would operate in the heart of the black community and help bring work back into the city and back to black workers, he says.

The Civil Rights Commission also adopted a critical position toward seniority last October by holding that seniority systems are by definition illegal under the Civil Rights Act, since minorities and women have lost jobs in higher proportion than their involvement in the labor force.

It suggested that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the act's enforcement arm, issue specific guidelines based on the principle that "all seniority systems are invalid as they apply to any workforce that does not mirror the relevant labor market."

The commission proposed alternatives to the "last-hired, first-fired" procedure including worksharing (cutting the hours of work for all), separate seniority lists for women, minorities and non-minority males, and inverse seniority.

Everyone admits that the final solution to the conflict between minority rights and seniority systems depends on a heal-

thy economy that can provide jobs for all—which has never been the case in capitalist society. That, essentially, is a question of economics and politics. Labor leaders in particular are hoping that the federal government will quickly implement a full employment policy.

The choice of a new labor secretary is another governmental decision that is closely tied to the affirmative action-seniority question. A behind-the-scenes power struggle is going on in the Carter "transition team" over this choice.

AFL-CIO president George Meany, the AFL-CIO hierarchy and UAW leaders are backing John Dunlop, President Ford's one-time labor secretary. Dunlop is closely associated with the building trades unions and has helped their national leaders keep a firm grip on uppity locals.

Dunlop is also an old enemy of affirmative action, women's and civil rights groups say. He is the father of proposed Labor Department regulations that would cut by 90 percent the number of companies required to meet affirmative action guidelines before receiving federal contracts. A coalition of civil rights and women's organizations are fighting his reappointment.

The winner of this squabble over the labor secretary will suggest which part of Carter's varied constituencies will pack the most punch in the new administration. AFL-CIO leaders expect Carter to cut inflation, push pro-labor legislation and provide jobs for union members.

Jim Haughton and other community activists have less faith in what the new president will do. "Until such time as we're able to build a united movement to fight for our real needs, crisis in employment and inflation will continue to increase," he says.

Organizing women, blacks: labor's come a long way



By Dan Marshall
National Staff Writer

In 75 years, changes in American industry and the workforce composition have impelled trade unions to seriously confront organizing minority and women workers.

Labor shortages in both world wars brought many blacks from southern fields to northern mass-production industries. Women and minorities predominate in the service, public employment and clerical sectors of the economy that have tremendously expanded since World War II.

The attitudes of trade union members and leaders toward black and women workers have also progressed.

In the early 20th century, labor leaders were unabashed about their racist sentiments. Many unions excluded blacks outright or placed them in segregated locals with the express approval of the American Federation of Labor. AFL policies toward blacks prompted A. Philip Randolph, head of the Sleeping Car Porters, to condemn the federation in 1919 as the "most wicked machine for the propagation of race prejudice in this country." As late as 1943, 30 AFL unions excluded blacks through constitutional provision or union ritual.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations, formed in 1935, broke many racial barriers by organizing thousands of unskilled black workers in the mass-production industries and by using its political influence to promote fair employment practices.

The CIO's United Packinghouse Workers, now a part of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, was the "most consistently militant, antiracist union in the country," says Stella Nowicki, an early packinghouse union organizer who worked in

the union for many years.

The Packinghouse Workers encouraged multiracial leadership in its locals, fought against the poll tax that prohibited many southern blacks from voting and helped cut through the color bars in baseball and other professions, she says.

► Industrial unions have better record.

CIO-formed industrial unions retain a better record in fighting discrimination than AFL craft unions.

Dorothy Gaines has seen that commitment to racial and sexual equality operate for many years. Gaines, a member of United Steel Workers Local 2645 in Chicago, had worked as a press operator at Continental Can Co. for 31 years when she tried to advance into an inspector's slot last year.

"There was a lot of rejection at first," she says. "There was only one woman in the quality control department before me. Instead of putting me in a proper training program, they just expected me to know the job after three weeks. I heard stories that they didn't think I was really qualified for the job and were trying to ease me out."

When she went to the union for help, it called a special meeting with management to straighten out the problem. Another inspector was brought in to train her and she quickly picked up the necessary skills.

"Everyone seemed happy the obstacles were overcome," she says proudly of breaking the department's sexual barrier. "Now the whole department has been opened up to other women and minorities. It made me feel real confident—before I was on the verge of calling it quits. But I knew I'd be letting other people down if I quit."

Continued on next page.



Photo by Ken Firestone

Unions discriminate too

The worsened economic situation and the controversy surrounding seniority and affirmative action have focused renewed attention on how unions themselves discriminate against minorities and women. The most prominent examples of this discrimination are the building trades and the teamsters unions.

The bulk of the workforce in these industries, unlike the mass production and service industries, have been white for decades. In both the teamsters and the building trades, unions act as "referral" agents for employers. Unions thus have a high degree of control over who is hired and can sometimes exclude categories of workers from the industry.

Government efforts to end discrimination and impose affirmative action programs have had little success in the building trades and the teamsters.

"The building trades remain a very solidly established racist institution," says Jim Haughton of Fight Back, an organization that has fought for 12 years to get more blacks into the New York city construction industry. "Building trades unions have been openly defiant of government orders, laws against discrimination and community pressures in protecting their racist control of work," he says. "Black and hispanic workers are left out because the unions operate a nepotistic system."

Discrimination in the construction unions usually operates through apprenticeship programs and at the hiring hall. The apprenticeship program provides over half the new craftsmen for the industry. Preference is usually given to the sons or relatives of union members, a practice that effectively excludes minorities or women. Some unions also require that a prospective apprentice be sponsored by two union members and be approved by a local union meeting.

The hiring hall provides union workers for the constantly fluctuating demands of contractors. There have been cases where black union members have been misinformed about procedures for get-

ting on the out-of-work list and cases where blacks have been subjected to more stringent requirements than whites for being referred to a job, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has reported.

In the case of the teamsters, contracts that establish separate seniority lists for city and over-the-road drivers discriminate against women and minorities who have long been locked into the lower-paying, city-driving jobs. If a worker wants to transfer to a road position, he or she is forced to give up accumulated seniority and thus becomes subject to frequent layoff.

For a long time minority drivers were barred from the over-the-road work because of pervasive segregation in the surrounding society.

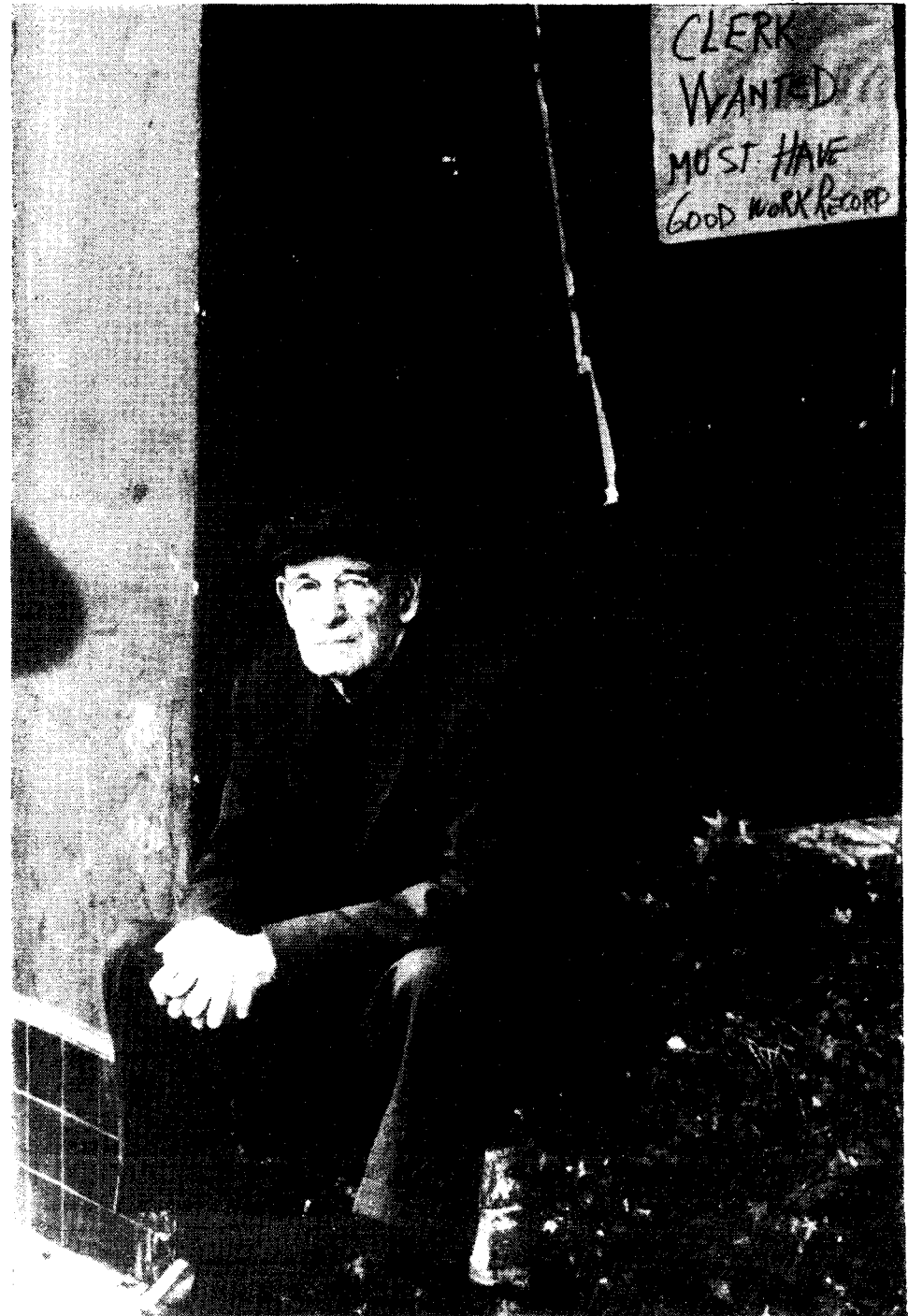
When companies were first required to carry insurance, they restricted their over-the-road drivers to certain routes. Before 1964, those jobs weren't feasible for blacks because they couldn't stop to use the motels, restaurants and truck stops on the main thoroughfares," says Gideon Parham of an Atlanta Teamster local. Parham credits the civil rights movement of the '60s with making it easier for blacks to get over-the-road jobs.

In its investigation of teamster union discrimination, the commission found examples of the union's refusing to refer minorities to firms needing over-the-road drivers or to place minorities with white drivers.

The discriminatory policies of the building trades and the teamsters became more severe as the economy deteriorated. Parham says that black and white drivers have been hard hit in the last three years.

Haughton also finds that discriminatory qualities in the building trades "are exacerbated in times of recession when the fight for jobs becomes far more fierce and competitive." He points out that unemployment in the New York building trades runs from 35 to 75 percent. "We feel that whatever work is available should be equitably shared by all workers," he says.

Photo by Robert Schaeffer



Continued from page 6.

Gaines describes other ways Local 2645 has helped counter racial and sexual discrimination at Continental Can.

Seniority was changed to a plantwide system in their 1973 contract, which also instituted a job-posting system for openings. Departmental seniority had long kept women and minorities in lower-level jobs, since they would lose seniority by moving up.

Separate classifications for male and female jobs have also been eliminated, Gaines says.

►If the "ladies" won't stay at home.

On the question of women workers, the attitudes of the industrial unions have not differed that much from the craft unions.

In 1927, the *Nation* published a story about a woman union organizer that indicated what male trade unionists thought of working women. "The men were terrified," Ann Washington Craton wrote, after a woman was called in to direct a local organizing campaign. "They were forced into a position where they had to make demands for the women."

When the organizer was arrested for her activities, the local business agents told the other women: "Let her stay in jail. She's all right. Let her stay until we can have a nice, quiet, little executive-board meeting without her. Then we will get her out. If ladies won't stay at home, let them stay in jail."

The sentiment that women should stay at home prevailed in CIO unions as well. In the United Packinghouse Workers there were no women officers and few women organizers for the International, Nowicki says, even though a large part of the union's membership was female. "If the union leadership would have taken a more positive attitude, it would have been much easier to organize women," she also feels.

►Can't afford not to organize women.

But, today, organized labor can ill afford to delay organizing women workers, since

they comprise about 44 percent of the workforce. Only 17 percent of those women workers, however, are union members, compared to 24 percent of men. Many are concentrated in the service and public employment sectors of the economy.

"I think we're seeing a slow but persistent increase in labor's attention to organizing women workers, especially in the expansion of union organizing in the white-collar and service fields that are predominantly female," comments Jackie Ruff, organizer for Local 925 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in Boston.

Local 925 is an outgrowth of "9 to 5," an organization that pressures banking, publishing and other employers to stop sexual discrimination. "Many of the unions in the area and even nationally are supportive of what we're trying to do—establish a base in primarily female occupations," Ruff says.

The American Federation of State, Country and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the country's fastest-growing union, also has a large membership of women service workers.

Discrimination in state government operates in a subtle, paternalistic manner, Barbara Merrill says, with women more often promoted to supervisory positions to foster competition between women in lower and higher classifications.

Merrill's union, AFSCME Local 2000, negotiated for job progression to be decided by exam rather than the whim of a supervisor.

The union also encourages women to form local caucuses to raise issues of discrimination, Merrill says, and distributes a 10-point leaflet on the laws against sexual discrimination.

"AFSCME has been in the forefront of helping its members address problems of racial and sexual discrimination," she says, "partially because the union is concerned with the whole fiber of its members' daily lives."

FBI agent testifies in Hampton suit

By Bonne Nesbitt
National Staff Writer

On Nov. 19, 1969, FBI informant William O'Neal helped his contacting agent draw up a floor plan of an apartment in a dingy westside Chicago neighborhood. The bed location of one occupant was marked with an "X."

Two weeks later, 14 policemen armed with weapons and the information conducted a "weapons raid" on the apartment, which belonged to Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois Black Panther party. Hampton was killed in his bed by two bullets fired close range into the head. Hampton's bed was the one marked "X."

Mark Clark, a downstate party leader temporarily staying at the apartment, was also killed and four of seven other Panthers were wounded.

Seven years later, the state's attorney who authorized the raid, two assistants, three FBI officials, the 14 policemen and O'Neal are defendants in a \$47.7 million civil suit filed by the families of Hampton and Clark and the seven survivors and are charged with unlawfully conspiring and carrying out the killings of Hampton and Clark and the physical and other injuries to the survivors.

Because of delays, the suit filed in the spring of 1970 did not come to trial until January before Judge Joseph S. Perry in Illinois District Court.

Last week, a climax of sorts occurred when O'Neal testified that the government should have paid him more money for his services.

"Frankly, I don't believe I was paid enough," said O'Neal, whose FBI salary was \$900 a month at the time of the Hampton apartment raid. "My life was in danger during that time and I feel I more than earned the money," he said in the suddenly quiet courtroom.

O'Neal had said moments before that he had been a Hampton pallbearer as "an act of condolence" because he "felt sorry Hampton had gotten killed" in the raid he helped to make possible.

Under cross-examination by attorney Jeffrey Haas, O'Neal admitted his actions "also served to protect my cover." Haas further disclosed that O'Neal, to "protect his cover," also went to Hampton's mother and volunteered to drive her to the funeral establishment.

►Was well paid.

Despite his testimony, FBI-produced documents show O'Neal was and indeed still is well paid.

Only four days after the deaths, the Chicago FBI office requested a \$300 bonus for O'Neal in payment for his "uniquely valuable services."

A memo to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover said "The raid was based on information furnished by the informant...this information was not available from any other source...and proved to be of tremendous value in that it saved injury and possible death to police officers participating in the raid." Hoover approved the request Dec. 11, 1969, and O'Neal was paid Dec. 23 by his contacting agent, Roy Mitchell.

Other documents show O'Neal was paid \$30,000 from 1969 to July 1972 and \$34,590 from July 1972 to November 1973. Another document says O'Neal stopped receiving payments then, but also notes that he was, in fact, paid an undisclosed amount for December 1973 and January 1974.

That same document shows O'Neal's payments were reactivated at \$1080 a month as of September 1975 and that he is still receiving that amount. O'Neal testified he is doing nothing to earn the money which he calls "subsistence" pay.

►Also "witness fees."

The \$1,000 a month isn't the only money the government is paying O'Neal, how-

FBI informant O'Neal was a Hampton pallbearer as "an act of condolence;" he said he "felt sorry Hampton had gotten killed" in the raid he helped to make possible.

Under cross-examination O'Neal admitted his actions "also served to protect my cover."

Photo by Paul Sequeira



On left, murdered Panther Fred Hampton's bed, marked "X" on informant's plan. On right, Panther lawyer Jeffrey Haas.

In These Times photo by Jane Melnick



ever. New documents released within the week show he has also received at least \$18,000 in "witness fees" from the U.S. attorney's office. The vouchers are signed by one of his defense federal attorneys.

In his testimony, O'Neal has said his association with Mitchell began in early 1968 when he gave Mitchell the name of a friend in connection with an auto theft charge. O'Neal said he informed on his "friend" because "Mitchell was an FBI agent and he requested certain information and I felt it somewhat of a privilege to cooperate with him as much as I could."

He denied Mitchell told him he was a suspect himself and denied his reason for informing on his "friend" was money. He conceded Mitchell paid him for the information but didn't remember the amount.

From February through July 1968, O'Neal regularly worked with Mitchell. "There were numerous times that I supplied him with information that was relevant to his duties," he testified.

►Joined Panthers in 1968.

In December 1968 O'Neal joined the Black Panther party, not for the money, but because Mitchell asked him to. "An agent of the federal government was asking me to join the Black Panther party," O'Neal said. "Yes, I was interested in myself, law enforcement and what the FBI stood for." In an earlier deposition, O'Neal said the opposite, Haas pointed out.

O'Neal testified he became the Panther security chief within two months of joining the party, but said he proposed no ideas for maintaining party security. He did not deny constructing an electric chair designed to "scare potential informants." He denied it was his idea, however. A memo written by him outlining an elaborate plan to rig Panther office doors and windows electrically to "electrocute" intruders was also not his idea, he said.

He also testified he had nothing to do with writing a by-lined article in the party newspaper denouncing another Panther as an informant.

►Evasive, vague and unresponsive.

O'Neal was often evasive, vague and un-

responsive in his answers to questions about his duties and specific information he gave Mitchell. "Yes, that was the sort of information I would have made available to him, but I don't specifically recall," was a typical answer. And Mitchell never gave O'Neal any specific instructions whatsoever, he said.

When confronted with a copy of the

Hampton apartment floor plan, he refused either to admit or deny providing the information it contains.

O'Neal's role as an informant was uncovered three years ago during the murder trial of former Chicago policeman Stanley Robinson. Robinson, a black police sergeant accused of heading a narcotics "hit squad," was charged with the slayings of two drug pushers when he named O'Neal. O'Neal was the chief witness against Robinson, who was convicted largely as a result of his testimony.

Since Mitchell and O'Neal were joined to the Hampton suit Dec. 3, 1974, the government has been forced to produce thousands of documents that show the raid was just a small part of the bureau's counterintelligence program (Cointelpro).

Cointelpro was launched in July 1969 to disrupt organizations the bureau considered subversive. According to an FBI memo, its goals in relation to black nationalist groups were "to prevent the rise of a black messiah who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement." To achieve this, Cointelpro sought to "espouse, disrupt and misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize" black movement organizations.

Last May the Senate Intelligence Committee claimed Cointelpro had directed 233 separate operations against the Panthers between July 1969 and April 1971, when the program allegedly was terminated.

The report also cited the Hampton apartment raid as an example of how Cointelpro used local police agencies to carry out raids—whether justified or not—on Panther homes.

As a result of information disclosed through the Hampton suit and the committee investigation, the party has filed a \$100 million suit for damages against a number of present and former government officials.

Meanwhile, O'Neal is expected to continue his testimony for another week. ■

Justice Dept. refuses to notify FBI targets

Washington. If you were a target of Cointelpro—the FBI campaign of dirty tricks against alleged subversives—you may never know. Unless you file a Freedom of Information request (and perhaps that is no guarantee), you'll have to trust the government to decide whether you were sufficiently harmed to warrant notification.

The Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility has nearly completed a review of 2,370 "publicly acknowledged" counterintelligence actions. It has sent out only 166 letters, with 59 more due.

Michael E. Shaheen Jr., the program director, believes it would be "unprofessional" to contact everyone. If harm was done or even if harm might have been done, Shaheen says, "we opt for notification."

The department defines harm as any adverse and unexpected alteration of an individual's life. Not all Cointelpro actions had that effect, Shaheen says. For example, Jewish members of the U.S. Communist party received anonymous newspaper clippings about anti-semitic attitudes in the Soviet Union. They could have read those articles in the paper themselves, Shaheen contends. Their lives were not disrupted sufficiently to justify notification. Although this action may have caused harm to the party, the department only notifies individuals, not organizations.

Why not just contact everyone?

Shaheen says the notification act itself

is an intrusion. A deputy U.S. marshal must hand-deliver the letter. Neighbors, spouses and children might want to know about it. Many people don't want it known that they were ever on a Cointelpro list, were ever considered subversive or were ever involved in even the hint of scandal, real or fabricated.

Timothy H. Ingram, staff director of the House subcommittee on government information and individual rights, suggests another reason why the department might not want to notify everyone.

"The Justice Department can, in effect, restrict the number of lawsuits against the government by restricting the number of people notified of improper conduct."

"That's patently absurd," Shaheen replies. "If the Justice Department wanted to do that we could have done what the Central Intelligence Agency did and have no notification program at all."

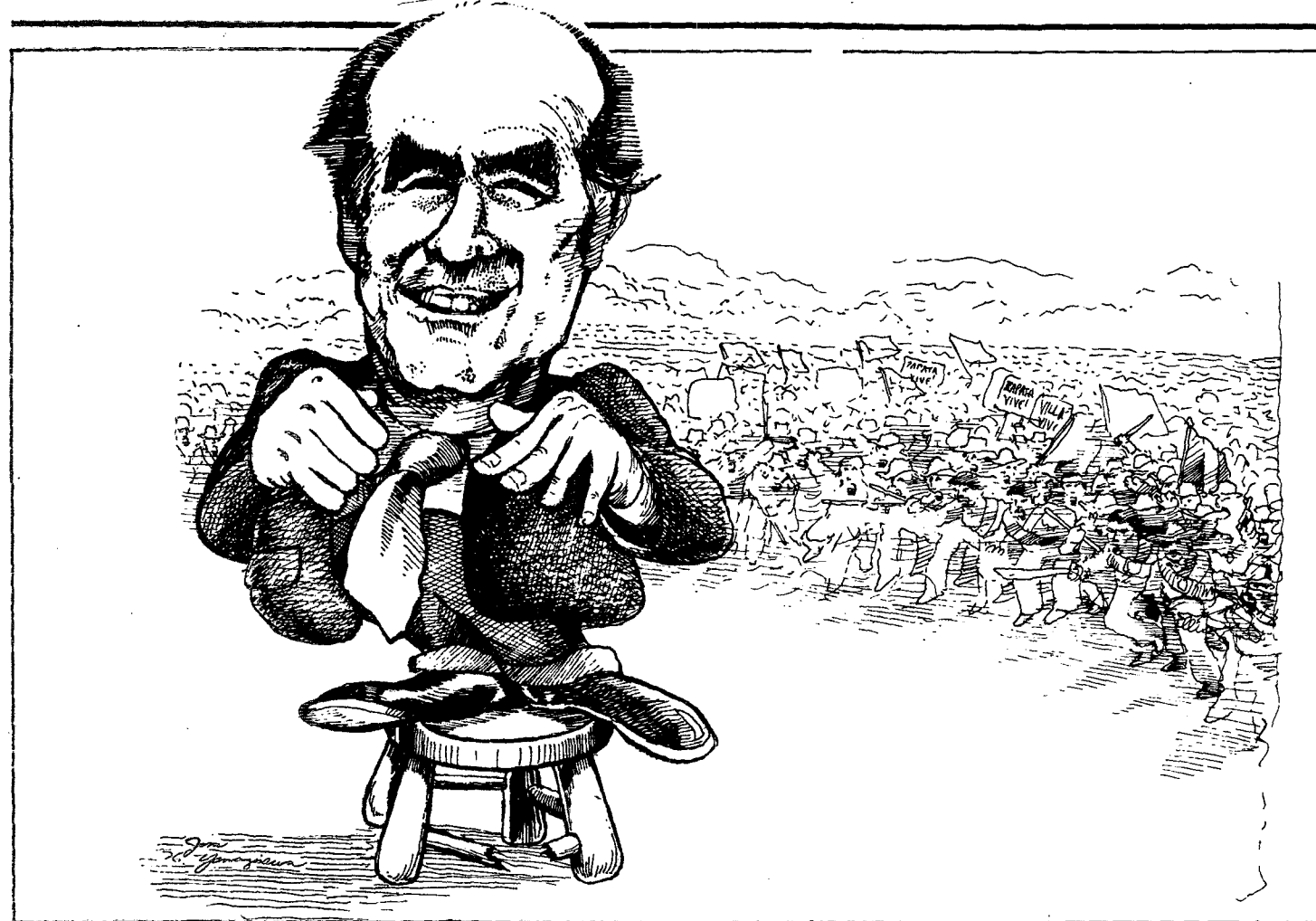
If only several hundred of the 2,370 Cointelpro actions warrant letters of notification, it's because "the overwhelming majority" of those actions were simply unsuccessful, Shaheen says.

Cointelpro was only one of an unknown number of FBI harassment programs. The notification effort, however, is only contacting victims of Cointelpro activities and not all victims of FBI harassment.

—Ted Clark

Ted Clark is a reporter for the Washington, D.C., Pacifica radio station.

IN THE WORLD



Mexican agrarian conflict

By Margit Birge

Berkeley, Calif. Farmworkers and peasants lined the road through the Yaqui Valley of Sonora, the Mexican state bordering Arizona. "We're waiting for the president who will declare that this land is ours," a man said.

Some of the richest agricultural lands in Latin America are in the valley and it produces 45 percent of Mexico's wheat, so the stakes were high. Hundreds of army troops were stationed there, sent to isolate workers occupying land with rifles and machineguns. In two years, more than 100 farmworkers have been killed in confrontations with the army, police and landowners.

But this time, in early November, most farmworkers were confident that Echeverria government's promises to distribute all big landholdings would be fulfilled.

For some, their wish came true. Acting on the Agrarian Reform Law that prohibits landholdings of more than 250 acres, President Luis Echeverria expropriated 240,000 acres of land Nov. 19 and distributed it to 9,000 farmworker families. The government hoped this would regain farmworker support for the 40-year ruling Institutional Revolutionary party. Their support was especially needed after devaluations brought price increases of up to 100 percent on basic food items and provoked widespread discontent.

But the conflict cannot be resolved so quickly. The new government of Jose Lopez Portillo, which took office Dec. 1, faces growing political pressures from all sides.

Land invasions are continuing everywhere, despite press-created images that the conflict has been settled. Growing numbers of workers are joining independent organizations challenging party-controlled peasant and farmworker unions. In addition, landowners are making tighter alliances with business groups to protest expropriations. Meanwhile, economic conditions that forced farmworkers to take mass actions have not changed. And the economic crisis affecting all capitalist countries leaves little room for the government to maneuver.

►Growing migrant force.

Changes in the Mexican fields are similar to those in U.S. agriculture. Agribusiness corporations have bought land and are

"The new government of Jose Lopez Portillo, which took office Dec. 1, faces growing political pressures from all sides."

monopolizing the marketing of fresh produce. U.S. corporations often provide the only source of credit, seeds and fertilizer for small farmers; in this way, with landowners, they can control production.

Small farmers who cannot afford the new technology or who cannot compete with big landowners are being forced to lease their land and work on the big estates. Together with farmworkers who do not own land, these farmers make up a growing migrant labor force that travels the coast each year, following the crops as they are harvested.

Farmworkers in northwest Mexico harvest vegetables that make up more than \$100 million a year in exports. Yet they rarely earn more than \$5 a day if they can work year-round. This is why many farmworkers go to central Mexico cities or come to the U.S. in search of better jobs.

The recession of course has meant fewer jobs in the cities and stricter immigration controls at the border. And this is what has provoked the militant invasions.

Farmworker actions are part of a wave of land invasions that began in 1975. By this November, close to 50,000 farmworkers had mobilized to demand land throughout northwest Mexico.

A central issue of the agrarian conflict is the invasion leadership.

In Sonora, the Independent Peasant Front, an organization not connected with the party, initiated most of the invasions. Their move forced the party-backed Pacto de Ocampo, a coalition of several farmworker organizations, to support the mobilizations.

In Sinaloa, just south of Sonora, party-backed groups have urged farmworkers to end occupations after a few days and wait for court rulings to resolve the conflict. (Many farmworkers have waited 20 to 30 years for court rulings on expropriations.) In contrast, independent groups have been more militant and have paralyzed production for weeks.

►Violence and land.

The Echeverria government responded by using violence against the more militant groups and rewarding loyal party followers with expropriated land. The same contradictory policy was followed with landowners: Echeverria criticized "greedy" landowners for using the economic situation for private gain, while simultaneously supporting their right to block land-reform implementation through the courts.

When Echeverria left office, neither landowners nor farmworkers were satisfied. Agribusiness interests made alliances with the National Chambers of Commerce and Industry to protest government policy. Businesses and industries in at least eight states participated Nov. 24 in a shutdown to protest the Sonora land expropriation.

For farmworkers, the future is uncertain. Expropriations may not hold up against court challenges. If the expropriations do hold, those who benefit and receive land will need large amounts of technical aid, in addition to seeds and fertilizer. Most planting must be finished by Dec. 15, so time is running short. If farmworkers cannot form collective marketing arrangements they will not obtain good prices.

Already farmworkers who received land distributed last year in Sinaloa are renting it back to original owners, who have the technology and training necessary to run production. If that pattern continues, it raises doubts about the viability of redistributing land under the present system.

The situation in the countryside remains tense. Farmworkers without land continue their fight. Thousands are still camped as of mid-December along to roads in Sinaloa. Invasions continue throughout the country. Independent groups from all over the country are organizing a national, independent farmworkers and peasant organization. About 2,000 farmworkers camped for 36 hours Dec. 8 in the offices of the agrarian reform secretary in Mexico City. They told reporters: "Not even God will stop our fight."

Margit Birge, who works at Peoples Translation Service in Berkeley, Calif., has just returned from a five-week trip to Mexico. Two years ago she studied political economy at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City.

IN SHORT

Spanish elections show desire to end Franco era

Madrid. In a statement issued Dec. 16, Spain's main Socialist party said the vast number of "yes" votes in the nationwide referendum on political reform showed the people's desire for getting rid of the system bequeathed by Gen. Francisco Franco.

The Socialist Workers' party, which had supported the boycott, accused the government of abusing its control of the news media and using bans on public meetings and arrests to silence the opposition during the campaign.

It said if general elections, scheduled before June under the reforms, were held in the same conditions, "they would be a farce."

Certainly the opposition's campaign was dwarfed by the government's massive advertising drive and only a handful of the politicians allowed to speak on television recommended a boycott.

The average Spaniard saw few of the anti-referendum wall slogans painted on the streets of Madrid and Barcelona. They were quickly whitewashed over by the authorities during the night.

—Reuters

While Portuguese parties all claim election gains

Lisbon, Portugal. Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares declared Dec. 12's local government elections gave his minority Socialist government a vote of confidence—but three opposition leaders disagreed.

They questioned his claim, insisting in a televised debate Dec. 13 that each of their parties had made the most gains.

In a low turnout—65 percent voted, compared with 75 percent in the June presidential election and 92 percent in the April parliamentary poll—the Socialist party led with 33.28 percent of the votes with results in 30 of the 4,035 parishes still to be declared.

It was followed by the Social Democrat party 24.28 percent, the United Peoples Electoral Front (Communist) 17.69, the Center Democrat party 16.63 and the Popular Unity Movement (radical left) 2.49 percent.

Soares said the vote was for town hall officials rather than a national government but noted that opposition parties had presented it as a plebiscite on his government. "It was a certain victory for the Socialists in this respect too," he said.

Socialists dropped 2 percent from the poll in the April parliamentary elections. They have been ruling for five months as the country's first democratic government in 30 years. Communists did a bit better than before. The others were little changed in their percentages.

Prof. Diogo Freitas do Amaral of the Center Democrats said the outcome showed government support was limited strictly to the Socialist electorate.

Dr. Francisco sa Carneiro, chairman of the Social Democrats, said he did not wish to join in a coalition government with the Socialists.

—Reuters

Exclusive

New U.S. Africa policy urged

By Charles C. Diggs Jr.

Washington. I have returned from a fact-finding mission to southern Africa—strengthened in my resolve to press for new American policies.

First, we must recognize that racist South Africa is the principal threat to peace in that whole area. South Africa is the principal supporter of the white-minority regime in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia. Without the military and economic assistance plus access to the outside world that South Africa provides, Rhodesia would collapse.

Although South Africa exerted some influence on the Rhodesians in concert with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's initiatives, it obviously has not been a maximum effort. This has contributed significantly to the frustrations at the Geneva conference.

Indeed, after Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith agreed to the five-point Kissinger plan, South Africa ended its slowdown of goods en route to southern Rhodesia and South African Prime Minister John Vorster has refused to implement economic sanctions against the rebel colony. While I was there, newspapers carried stories of South African families who were opening their homes to provide rest-and-recuperation vacations to Rhodesian soldiers and their families.

Additionally, South Africa, the illegal administrator of Namibia, controls the Turnhalle conference proceedings in Windhoek, where a handpicked, unrepresentative group is attempting to direct that country's destiny along lines of the "separate development" concept to keep the white minority in charge.

Finally, South Africa has reaffirmed its total rejection of sharing political power with nonwhites and further has refused to establish equality between groups with respect to job opportunities, wages, education, housing, public accommodations or the criminal justice system.

Based on this, American policy must be uncompromising. We must support greater economic pressure against South Africa and discourage investments there by American private enterprise. We must tighten the arms embargo. We must put visa applications by South Africans to visit the U.S. under the strictest controls, in conformity with visa controls South Africa exercises over Americans, particularly those who are black.

We must convert our diplomatic missions in South Africa to communication centers for all the people, not just whites. We must isolate South Africa diplomatically, intellectually and culturally by discouraging our scho-



Charles C. Diggs Jr.

Photo by UPI

lars, athletes and entertainers from visits there.

Most importantly, we must disabuse the Western world of the myth that South Africa can rightfully claim to belong to the free world democracies. Present-day South Africa must be recognized as the repressive, totalitarian system it is.

In South Africa, there is no right of habeas corpus; no protection against search and seizure, preventive detention is a daily practice; torture is a common occurrence in the detention centers where hundred of youths have been herded since June 16; there is taxation without representation for the vast majority of the population; there is a vast security network that invades the privacy of all individuals on a routine basis. In short, there are gross violations of human rights and civil liberties that would shock the American people if the truth were known.

There are other steps that must be

taken involving other areas that are interrelated.

We must buttress the economies of those nations who have been so severely affected by the southern Africa crisis—Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. We must insist on selection of American personnel for relevant positions within the State department and other international agencies who are sensitive in implementing a national policy and are representative of our population.

We must educate the American people and their elected representatives in Congress that it is in our best interest to pursue a progressive posture.

Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), who has just returned from a study mission to South Africa, where he compiled information on racial conditions and political problems, has written this article exclusively for *In These Times*. He also attended the Geneva conference and the American-African conference in Lesotho.

Black leaders push Carter vs. S. Africa

Washington. A group of prominent blacks influential in U.S. politics and civil rights organizations has issued a strongly worded statement on U.S. policies in southern Africa after returning from a recent conference there.

Their demands may force President-elect Carter into a delicate balancing act. He will be under heavy pressure from blacks who elected him to change U.S. policy while trying not to endanger U.S. economic interests in the region.

"We African-Americans," wrote delegates to the African-American Conference in Maseru, Lesotho, "are in a peculiar power position because we are a significant political force within the nation that has the greatest potential to influence events in Africa."

Their statement called for nine courses of action, most significantly support for liberation movements in Africa, by "the most effective means available, including, if necessary, force." They also called for support for U.N. sanctions against South Africa, tax punishments for U.S. businesses that invest there, direct economic assistance to "frontline" nations bordering Zimbabwe and South Africa, and black influence on Carter's cabinet and other appointments that affect African affairs.

Black conference participants from the U.S. included members of the Congressional Black Caucus such as Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Charles C. Diggs Jr., Cardiss Collins and Andrew Young. (Young Dec. 16 was named U.S. ambassador to the U.N.) Also present were Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Georgia state senator Julian Bond, Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton and representatives from organized labor and well-known civil rights organizations.

Delegates announced their intention to "develop a forceful lobby...to build a broad-based constituency in support of African objectives." The lobby, the statement said, "will press for greater recognition that South Africa is the root of the problem of oppressive minority rule" and a "threat to world peace."

The most recent set of U.N.-imposed sanctions against South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia were vetoed by the U.S. "We will insist," the African-American delegates wrote, that the new administration support these sanctions. Young's appointment could result in some quick diplomatic shuffles and major compromises on sanctions.

Carter will have a problem if delegates press their demand for "tax disincentives and appropriate executive action to discourage or prohibit further investment by Americans in the South African economy." Although the demand is a powerful tool, any interference with U.S. commerce in South Africa will not go well with Carter's business constituency.

Carter will also have to push hard to get increased aid to the frontline nations through Congress, as delegates want. The last session of Congress killed, with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's blessing, an aid package to hard-pressed Mozambique. The Mozambicans, hardly able to provide basic necessities for themselves, are being drawn into the war in Zimbabwe and have been attacked by white Rhodesians several times.

Delegates supported a quid pro quo on admission of South African citizens into the U.S. since "many Americans are denied visas to visit South Africa and the right of transit to the landlocked kingdom of Lesotho in violation of international law."

The statement closed with a call for partnership between African-Americans and "brothers and sisters in Africa to secure the human rights of all African peoples both in the motherland and the Diaspora."

—Tim Frasca

South African leader urges official investigation of political detainees

Johannesburg, South Africa. Black leader Sonney Leon Dec. 16 urged the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists to investigate the deaths of detainees in police custody in South Africa.

His pleas followed the alleged suicide Dec. 15 of black high school teacher George Botha, 30, who fell six floors to his death down a stairwell while being taken to security police offices in Port Elizabeth.

Amid mounting public concern, the independent Institute of Race Relations, in a report last week, said at least 13 people have died in detention in the past year. Eight of them were held under the security laws and five of these were alleged to have committed suicide.

"The idea that people can be murdered in custody is a particularly horrible one," the *Rand Daily Mail* said in an editorial Dec. 16.

Police said Botha, who had been arrested Dec. 10, flung himself over a railing and down a stairwell as he reached the offices with his police escort. Police have not said why Botha was being held.

His wife, Pralene Botha, said: "The police said he had committed suicide. This is a terrible shock to me. He was not the sort of person who would do it."

Botha's suicide followed the Dec. 11 death in custody of an Oxford-educated black engineer found hanged in a police cell after being arrested on suspicion of plotting urban guerrilla actions.

That dead man was Wellington Tsha-

zibane, 30, a close friend of Isaac Siko, who police say tried to blow up a restaurant here Dec. 7.

Tshazibane, who held an honors B.S. degree in design engineering from Oxford University, England, as well as an M.S. degree from Britain's Salford University, was arrested Dec. 9 when he arrived from Lesotho at Rand Airport here, police sources said.

His mother, Joyce Mavuso, said police took him home, searched the house and took away documents. On Dec. 11 police told her her son had hanged himself with a strip of blanket in his cell at John Vorster Square police station. They said a note was found by the body.

—Reuter

Brezhnev balancing act works for now

By Louis Menashe

New York. In the Soviet Union wags call him Ilyich II, since he has the same patronymic as Vladimir Lenin. Another image plays on his bushy eyebrows; drop them to his upper lip and behold a previous general secretary of the Soviet Communist party who made that office the awesome position it is today.

In the case of Lenin, the resemblance is purely accidental. But comparing Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to Josef Stalin is a bit like seeing the resemblance between first cousins: Yes, the features are there, yet the set of the jaw and the tone of the voice make them somehow different.

Leonid Brezhnev, and the system he bosses—scarred within Stalinist structures of bureaucratic management and political terror—have moved far enough away from those structures to accommodate changes in Soviet society and its new global roles, but not far enough away to repudiate them altogether.

This neat balancing act—requiring great political circumspection both at home and abroad and keyed to the sensibilities, power and privileges of the party and state apparatus—has marked the Brezhnev formula ever since he helped unseat Nikita Khrushchev, who lacked both tact and respect for the bureaucracy, 12 years ago.

The Brezhnev formula represents a politics of the middle ground.

Abroad, it means avoiding confrontations with the U.S., even collaborating with Washington where possible, all the while rendering arms and economic assistance to "progressive" movements or established revolutionary regimes in the Third World. It also means keeping the powder dry on the Sino-Soviet border, but also keeping the door open to a possible rapprochement with Peking.

At home, it means avoiding economic innovation but seeking cosmetic means to touch up established patterns. It has throttled the dissident movement at little expense—not by resurrecting Gulag but by systematically exiling the most outspoken figures, confining others to psychiatric wards and intimidating the rest.

By comparison with the Stalin era convulsions and the Khrushchev era experiments, this is a regime trying to catch its breath.

►At 70, he has survived.

Under Brezhnev the aim has been to settle down, to enjoy the benefits conferred by great-power status as American ability to shape the world declines and to keep intact the main structures of Soviet political rule and economic order against all pressures for change. At 70, Brezhnev has survived bouts of ill health as well as his share of political embarrassments to achieve this aim, on the surface at least.

In 1964, Soviet party chiefs plucked Brezhnev from his prominent but politically powerless position as USSR president to replace Khrushchev as general secretary.

Khrushchev himself was faulted for "subjectivism, voluntarism, boastfulness and 'from above-ness'" and was too fond of "harebrained schemes." It was not just a matter of style; Khrushchev was playing havoc with the bureaucracy's morale and functioning: In search of economic efficiency, he split the party into cadres responsible for industry and for agriculture. He upset the central economic ministries by pushing regional economic councils. He threatened central economic planners by encouraging debates on profitability and market performance for industrial enterprises.

Not only was such juggling not working, but the class interests of definite strata were being bruised.

Official ideology and political structure—the ultimate ramparts of class interests—were for the first time in decades under attack. Khrushchev had inadvertently led the way by denouncing Stalin



and letting dissidence flourish—often openly and in print—in the arts, sciences, literature and in potentially explosive academic disciplines like history.

The dissidence at home paralleled threats to Moscow's hegemony in the world Communist movement. Khrushchev botched relations with the Chinese, toward whom he behaved arrogantly and crudely, producing the gravest rift in the socialist bloc.

Finally, Khrushchev's strategy of peaceful coexistence with the West lacked finesse and could not conceal basic Soviet weaknesses in weapons systems and logistic capabilities on a global scale.

When push came to shove, the USSR could not put teeth into militant rhetoric, as in the Congo in 1960 or Cuba in 1962. The incautious challenge to the Kennedy administration over Cuba brought the two powers frightfully close to nuclear war and probably had as much to do with Khrushchev's downfall as his domestic missteps.

►The conservatives triumph.

Ousting Khrushchev represented the triumph of the Communist party's conservative apparatus. The career apparatchik, Brezhnev, was picked to undo Khrushchev's experiments and roll things back to more stable economic and political grounds.

Brezhnev—ironically a Khrushchev protégé—had made his way up in the party of the '30s when Stalin was annihilating the old Bolshevik cadres. He is, par excellence, the representative of the powerful functionaries who blossomed under Stalin. Their concern has been less with revolutionary transformation of Soviet society than with steady economic growth and development; less with revolutionary challenges to U.S. imperialism than with competition with it over spheres of economic and political influence.

A symbolic touchstone for judging

their attitudes lies in their view of Stalin historically and personally, and in their anxieties over de-Stalinization.

While willing to allow that Stalin had committed crimes and "excesses" and had nearly wrecked the party, they also feel that Khrushchev had gone too far in dismantling his reputation. His reputation, after all, was the historical source for their political legitimacy.

With characteristic balance, they quietly halted de-Stalinization and went about restoring what they considered the positive parts of the Stalin record. Since 1970 a large bust of Stalin looks down on visitors to the Kremlin wall, letting them know that he has been rehabilitated.

Brezhnev, then, heads what may be described as a para-Stalinist system. The critical question confronting the Brezhnev regime—more to the point, confronting its successors—is how long can the old modes contain and manage the inherent dynamism of Soviet society and the global forces of change? And, from a socialist viewpoint, how can those modes operate without seriously impairing the possibilities for a democratic socialism in the USSR?

►Detente a sham solution.

Economic development is one vital area of concern. Detente smooths the way to capital and technology from the West. The Brezhnev government has seen this as a relatively painless and simple method of streamlining the Soviet economy without tampering with institutions. Yet this is a sham solution; the problems run deeper.

For one thing, Soviet ability to finance such assistance on the scale necessary for real modernization is limited. Soviet manufactured goods lack the volume or quality to penetrate Western markets and earn "hard currency" to pay for Western hardware.

The West can either wrest political and other concessions in return for credit or take Soviet gold reserves and raw materials like petroleum—not exactly a comfortable or advantageous relationship for a developing socialist economy.

Soviet dissidents ranging from the liberal Sakharov to the Marxist Medvedev have pointed out that the Soviet economy's real problems cannot be patched up this way. Improving worker morale, breaking up rigid and wasteful bureaucratic structures, speeding up the free flow of knowledge and information among the scientific and technical intelligentsia go to the heart of the matter—and cry out for political reforms.

Sophisticated, computerized econometric techniques imported from Western capitalism might improve the performance of the planned Soviet economy, but socialist planning implies an economy of public choice and resource allocation by the producers themselves—again a political question.

It is difficult to see political reforms in the direction of socialist democracy coming from above, from within the Brezhnev regime. In coming years, however, pressures for such reform will mount inexorably, especially from outside sources.

Eastern Europe has always been a crucible challenging Soviet-style dogmas and coercive patterns. Yet its possible role as a conduit for fresh ideas to the USSR is limited geopolitically. Moscow has not hesitated to resort to direct intervention to stamp out heresy there, as the Czech example demonstrated.

"Eurocommunism" is an entirely different matter. The spectre of an independent Italian or French communism, beyond Moscow's reach, challenging Soviet habits and ways of looking at the world from within a pro-Soviet political tradition can have powerful repercussions in the USSR.

Several interesting trends came together at a recent public rally in Paris in defense of victims of political repression. A French Communist party representative shared the platform with Leonid Plyushch, the exiled Soviet dissident, and Jiri Pelikan, a former Central Committee member of the Czech Communist party under Alexander Dubcek, to speak out for, among others, jailed Soviet dissidents.

So far, Brezhnev has been a master at holding the line. The task of holding to dead center, of resisting the trends symbolized by the Paris rally, will not be so simple for his successors.

Louis Menashe teaches Russian history at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute.

Soviet leader lauded at 70

Moscow. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev celebrated his 70th birthday Dec. 19 with a crescendo of praise and honor that put him firmly among the all-time "greats" of official Communist history.

In the lead-up to the birthday, the party general secretary was given the military rank of marshal, called the "Vozhd" or "Supreme Leader" of the Soviet people and portrayed as the brain behind all the country's successes.

Already the adulation campaign has outstripped that launched before the 70th birthday of Brezhnev's immediate predecessor, Nikita Khrushchev, in April 1964.

The amount of attention being lavished on the Kremlin chief is in fact approaching that paid to Josef Stalin who was 70 in 1949 and was the last top leader to be described publicly with the emotive ancient Russian term of "Vozhd."

—Reuter

A fight for the streets that no



Photo by Ken Firestone

Prostitution and the community

By Judy MacLean
National Staff Writer

It's mostly women on both sides of the fight. Community women see getting prostitutes off the streets as the key to neighborhood survival. For streetwalkers, staying on the streets means personal survival.

Last summer the conflict became suddenly acute in a number of cities.

"It just all of a sudden got worse this summer," Maude Phillips says about prostitution in the MacArthur section of Oakland, Calif.

She and her neighbors organized to put pressure on the Oakland police department. Arrests in the area went way up and now it's relatively prostitute-free during the day.

"But they still do their work after 10:30 at night. My son's always chasing johns out of the back yard. Pimps will be whipping them back there too. And in the morning the streets are filled with paper," she says.

Nearby neighborhoods in Berkeley have had an influx of streetwalkers since Phillips' coalition became active.

►Cleaning up Times Square.

New York's Times Square has been "famous" for prostitution for some time, but this year it got "worse than ever," says Helen Becker, a hairdresser who works at 42nd and Broadway. Angry residents have teamed with storekeepers and theater people to form a coalition to "clean up" the square. On Nov. 15, 1,200 of them marched along the streets, scaring away the usual street people. A sign in a block club window read, "If you're here to pick up a whore your license number will be traced and a letter sent to your wife."

Rev. Robert Rappleyea, a community leader, predicts, "This is only the beginning of the battle. The long-range plans are to declare war. It's come down to a question of survival. People think prostitution is a victimless crime, but it's not. The crime rate in this community is 69 percent higher than in New York as a whole."

In Detroit, says Mary Ellis, of the North Woodward area, "It reached a point of no return this summer."

She and her neighbors—white, black, oriental and arab—joined together and hit the streets every night in groups to picket prostitutes and scare off johns.

"We were out there every night until 2:30 or 3 in the morning," she says.

Word spread, and they formed a coalition. When prostitutes moved to another neighborhood, Ellis's group went there and helped residents picket. They also put pressure on nearby motels to stop renting to prostitutes and demanded more police enforcement and more prosecution by judges.

►It's discrimination still.

The NAACP was one group that joined. "It's no different, making a black woman get in the back of the bus in the South or in the back seat of a car for sex in Detroit; it's discrimination," executive secretary Joe Madison says. As in most cities the majority of Detroit's streetwalkers are black. White woman work as "call girls," in hotels, bars and "massage parlors."

The coalition pressured the *Detroit News* to publish the names of convicted clients in the prostitution report.

"A lot were white men from the suburbs," Madison points out.

They pressured judges to prosecute johns as well as hookers.

"Prostitution is profitable," Madison says. "You get rid of johns, you'll get rid of prostitution, and you'll curtail the problems of drugs and criminal elements."

Madison, like all community residents interviewed, was relatively unconcerned about the fate of Detroit's streetwalkers.

"I guess they just moved to other cities," he says.

"We have by no means cleaned it up," Ellis says, "but we got it off the street."

►A desire to be neighbors.

Stephen Taylor, a Detroit lawyer, says community groups were successful in certain neighborhoods, but they didn't touch indoor prostitution. Taylor believes the effort to eliminate streetwalkers will be futile. He also believes prostitution is none of the state's business. Yet he feels efforts by community groups, though not directed at Detroit's real problems, can be positive.

"The city needs something," he says, "and it springs from a desire to have neighbors and be a neighbor."

In Chicago, anger by community groups last summer resulted in the "Big Sweep" by police. But mostly it just chased women from one neighborhood to another. Cold weather has brought a lessening of the conflict.

The same situations are duplicated in cities all over the U.S. There are varying opinions as to why the sudden increase this year.

►Unemployment is responsible.

Cassie Lopez of Oakland Neighborhood Coalition blames the "terrible unemployment problems" in the area.

Capt. Francis Daly of New York's police youth division says high teenage unemployment drives more young women 16 and 17 into the city every day—and the only way to survive is prostitution.

Randy Newby, spokeswoman for "Coyote," an organization of and for prostitutes in San Francisco, says she gets calls every day from secretaries who've lost their jobs and are ready to hit the streets. They want to know how to keep from getting caught or hurt.

The proliferation of massage parlors has cut into the streetwalker's business. Capt. Lawrence Hepburn of New York prostitution squad says. The women, their numbers already swollen, are forced to work longer hours and become more aggressive.

"Unemployment hits black women hardest," Madison says. "It's clearly discrimination. These women can't get the kind of jobs they want."

John F. Decker, who teaches at DePaul College of Law in Chicago and has done research into prostitution, cites something else: a more permissive sexual atmosphere in the U.S. sends many middle-aged married men to streetwalkers.

"They ask, 'what have I missed?'" he says. "They have been bombarded with sexual stimulation ranging from movies like 'Deep Throat' to the shocking sexual behavior of their own children," he says.

►A red light district needed?

Opinions also vary about what should be done. Some say a red light district, surrounded by a nonresidential area, is the answer.

But in Boston, recent events in the "Combat Zone," just such a district, have made that seem less tenable. When the Harvard football team was visiting the city last night, two were killed. The city was shocked—not, evidently, that the football team was there, but at the level of organized crime, violence and police corruption that was exposed.

Others point to Detroit's zoning laws which require 51 percent of surrounding residents and businesses to agree to the opening of sex shops and "adult" bookstores. The laws and militant community action have apparently chased prostitutes to more lenient cities, but if every city tried it, it would just up the ante and prostitution would probably return somehow.

Just as residents seem unsympathetic to the situation of streetwalkers, the few people who defend prostitutes seem unconcerned about the effects on the community.

The ACLU has been a staunch supporter of the rights of streetwalkers. They have initiated court cases against anti-loitering and other laws aimed at prostitutes.

When New York ACLU chair Edwin J. Ennis' neighborhood became a haven for streetwalkers, he announced he would move, hardly a solution for a whole neighborhood.

►It's the johns' fault.

Newby says women are raised to believe their position in life is to go to bed with a man one way or another. Then women who can't get other jobs become hookers to survive.

one's really winning

"If you have to break the law to survive, there's something wrong," she says. "It's the johns, the men with power, who've closed all the other doors to these women. Then they turn around and solicit them. Do you think she wants to be there? Out on the street where it's cold and rainy? No, but if she advertises in the paper she gets arrested. When a resident says, 'I am a victim'—because a prostitute looks offensive—that's violating her right of free association and expression. Myself, I find fat men with cigars offensive, but I can't have them all arrested."

Newby says she offered to tell the Oakland City Council how to get the streets cleared.

"But they weren't interested," she says.

First would come forcing the massage parlor owners to pay masseuses better so they wouldn't be forced into prostitution to make ends meet. Second, "Let the women advertise in a paper like the *Berkeley Barb*; they'll be off the street."

What about decriminalization?

Newby believes decriminalization would help both hookers and communities.

"At first there would be havoc—more people in the streets," she says. "After a while women could advertise. It would be more scattered."

The National Organization for Women and the American Civil Liberties Union also support decriminalization. ACLU's position is that prostitution, a "victimless crime," should not be punished. NOW works closely with Coyote and believes that it's going to happen no matter what and that prostitutes shouldn't be scapegoated as criminals.

Decriminalization would break the link between prostitutes and other criminals, Newby believes, and so keep away a lot of what now plagues communities where prostitutes gather.

"It's for protection from the police and john brutality that she runs with drug addicts and dope dealers. She doesn't like it any better than anyone else. If she were no longer a criminal she wouldn't have to hang with them," Newby explains.

Legalization, on the other hand, won't help. The distinction between decriminalization and legalization is that legalization means state regulation and the establishment of red light zones; decriminalization means no regulation.

"Then the police decide who's a hooker, herd them into a red light district and arrest them for being out of it," she says. "Prostitutes then have four more pimps—the federal, state, county and city governments."

She cites Nevada, where prostitution is legalized. Women the police don't sanction or those who don't like conditions in the brothels end up right back in the communities, walking the streets and illegal once more.

Decriminalization is not yet on the agenda of any city where there was conflict last summer. Too many forces line up against it; from churches that take a moral stand to police who stand to lose the "take" they get from looking the other way, to most of the government and most community groups. A variety of police campaigns and zoning proposals are, however, on the agenda.

Although cold weather has temporarily put a damper on the situation, all the ingredients are still there—residents who want livable neighborhoods, high unemployment for women, minorities and teenagers, and men with money to spend. The outlook is not good.

A Streetwalker

Linda stands between two parked cars on a street in Chicago's Uptown. In sub-freezing weather, she's wearing a halter top and a light, unbuttoned jacket, waving down men in cars. When a police car rides by, she crouches in the snow behind a car. A minute later she's back again, waving for her next "date."

When asked, she says she knows her presence and that of other prostitutes angers community people. "But it's none of their business, really," she says. "O.K., we do make lots of noise with our whistling and hollering for them men to stop. But if they tell me to move, I'll move on down the street. They call the police three or four times a night, and they throw hot water, bottles and rocks down on me. I say, hey, don't give me that stupid stuff."

She thinks it's to be expected that men would try to solicit other women in the community—"Only natural."

Coyote's Randy Newby says society's attitudes push prostitutes "into the bottom of the barrel." Within the hierarchy of prostitution it's streetwalkers like Linda who endure the harshest working conditions. They face bad weather, hostility and danger that women who work in bars, massage parlors or as "call girls" can avoid.

Things have gotten so bad in the block Linda works that three months ago a hooker was murdered there. "A lady said she saw the man who did it. She could have screamed, 'Hey, let her go,' or called the police. But nobody would help, and she had been dead for eight hours before they found her."

Now Linda works that corner alone—others are afraid. "Right after it happened, I was scared and I went down the street. But I can't make money down there, there's too much competition. So I come up here by myself," she says.

Like the majority of streetwalkers, Linda is black. White prostitutes are more likely to be able to work hotels and bars. She's 17 and has worked the streets since she was 14.

"I just ran into this dude and he talked to me about it. He had diamonds and stuff that I liked. I didn't graduate from grammar school, didn't know any jobs, so I tried it."

"I'm not planning to do this all my life," she continues. "When I get about 30 I'll retire. I plan to have everything I want out of life—that's the point of being out here. I don't want to be an old woman who stares out of her house and got nothing to show for the days she worked."

Violence is part of her nightly 9-to-6 shift. "I might run into a fool," she says. "Sometimes if they act too foolish I jump out of the car." She used to work on the west side, but hasn't returned there since she was stabbed in the leg when a man tried to rob her. She can get no help from the police if she's assaulted in the course of her job because her job is illegal.

She used to have a room where she took her clients, but the man who rented it to her was kicked out of the building. "Now, we go in the cars," she says.

Linda thinks it would help if prostitution were legalized. She could get health checkups, work a normal eight-hour day and pay taxes like everyone else. "Now we pay more taxes than anybody. During the big

crackdown last summer I was paying \$200 a night." The constant arrests and fines that never really eliminate the prostitution trade have led some to call cities like Chicago the biggest pimp of all.

Linda has been talking to me in a fast-food restaurant, but is anxious to leave. "I can't stay—my man will get after me if I stay here too long," she says.

She walks back into the freezing night, dodging cannily behind cars, watching with one eye for a customer, the other for the police.

The Community

Once prostitutes begin regularly to do business in a neighborhood, every woman who lives there becomes a prostitute to the men who cruise by. A woman who lives in Chicago's Uptown complains, "The other day, a man followed me for blocks, trying to proposition me. Even though I didn't respond, he pursued me, like I was some sort of animal." She and other women who live there are afraid to go shopping without their husbands.

Helen Becker, who works on 42nd and Broadway in New York, says men proposition her all the time on the way to work. "Believe me, I'm no youngster," she says, "but the men come up and say things, and then the women say, 'move out of my area.'"

Her daughter says, "You walk down that street, the men say such disgusting things to you, suddenly you feel dirty, like you should go home and take a bath."

"If you're part of a community that's poor, black and underprivileged," says Detroit NAACP's Joe Madison, "then you're told you have to accept the trash prostitution brings with it. And by trash, I mean all the white men who sit home in the suburbs criticizing Detroit for being dangerous, and then come into the neighborhood just to get a piece of ass."

Worse than the hookers and johns, many residents feel, is the accompanying crime. "We have older people who can't cook who were afraid to go out for their meals," says Maude Phillips of the MacArthur section of Oakland, Calif. "They were so afraid of the pimps and other men hanging around they just stayed indoors and went hungry."

Before the community pressured the police last summer, there had been two murders within a block of Phillips' house and beatings were routine.

"These people worked so long to get comfort in their later years," Phillips continues, "then they're not even able to get out the door."

"We have nothing against prostitution per se," says Mary Ellis of Detroit's North Woodward-John R. Community Assn. "But don't walk my streets." Like many community residents, Ellis worries about children who find used contraceptives and pantyhose in the street and witness sexual acts.

"How about our rights? We live here," said a sign carried by a 7-year-old in a recent anti-prostitution demonstration in New York.

The long-range effect on a community can be devastating. "Where do my rights begin? There are homeowners' rights," says Mel White of Angry Residents Mobilize in a primarily black community in Detroit's far northwest. "Nobody has a right to deteriorate a whole neighborhood. We

could see the whole street change. The city stopped cleaning, parking got way out of line, things began going on in our side streets."

Increased police protection doesn't always help either. Particularly if she is black, a community resident risks being arrested in a police dragnet.

In Chicago's Uptown, an 11-year-old girl reported she was repeatedly harassed by overzealous undercover police agents trying to entrap hookers.

Most community residents are not concerned with what will happen to streetwalkers. They just want them moved away. Cassie Lopez, a neighbor of Phillips in Oakland, says, "We say get them out of the community, or pretty soon there won't be any community."

Is There A Solution?

It's hard to live in a neighborhood where streetwalkers congregate, where you constantly fear insults, propositions, assaults and random violence.

It's also hard to work as a hooker, dodging the police, fearing a crazy john, an angry resident or perhaps a beating from your own pimp.

It's tragic that streetwalkers and neighborhood people are locked in conflict. Tragic because there probably is no good solution within the structures of American society today.

Prostitution is said to be the world's oldest profession. James Pasto, a San Diego lawyer who defends massage parlors, says trying to stop prostitution "is like sticking your finger in a dike, trying to keep the water out and another hole keeps popping open. As long as they have a demand, there's going to be a supply."

Like many of the men spoken to in preparing these articles, Pasto believes prostitution to be a natural part of human sexuality.

And he does have a point. As long as women are raised to aspire to be sex symbols and denied other ways to support themselves, why should they be hunted like animals for selling their bodies?

Decriminalization is a good reform that would make life far easier for prostitutes, keep them from relying on criminals for protection and perhaps even lessen the blight on communities.

But it's not enough. Why should we acquiesce in a situation where men buy women's bodies and women are forced to sell themselves?

Coyote says all women sell their bodies one way or another: Housewives trade sexual favors for a lifetime of support; prostitutes do it for a fixed amount. Whether the analogy really holds, I suspect that as long as any woman has to trade sex to feed her kids or to get ahead in some way, there will be hookers out on the streets.

Prostitution will never end because of more arrests or harsher sentences. It's a problem much larger than a neighborhood can handle.

It will only end when every woman can control her own life, has access to education and a decent job, and enough resources to live. We're a long way from that now. But unless building a society that guarantees real equality and power for women becomes a goal, communities and streetwalkers alike will continue to suffer.

There's gold in them thar dumps

By Linda Siskind

Sacramento, Calif. Garbage, it seems, is becoming very valuable. "Rising costs of energy and virgin material will gradually make solid waste so valuable that cities may someday be selling their garbage to private resource-recovery systems," said the *New York Times Magazine* last year. And in California that seems to be a real possibility.

California legislators recently completed two days of hearings on various options for managing the state's garbage. Arrayed before them were representatives of all who want to get their hands on more garbage: private collection agencies, which control 70 percent of the garbage statewide and 75 percent nationwide, and think past, present and future garbage belongs in dumps; Union Carbide Corp., which sells \$50 million plants to convert garbage into fuel, a popular proposal except for the cost and the fact that thousands of tons of garbage a day are mandatory for economic operation of the plants; and the recyclers, who with "messianic fervor" say the future health of our planet requires us to waste less and reuse more.

Although no fists were flying, the stage was set for a future battle when and if the legislators actually take sides. So far, they are only considering legislation to control hazardous waste disposal, regulate private garbage collection rates, adopt container reuse policies and put money into recycling and energy-producing demonstration projects.

Legislators are looking at recycling with more interest now that the nation's oil and minerals are becoming scarcer and more expensive. But they haven't yet met the issue square-on and demanded a change in our throw-away economy—by ending, for instance, the surcharge on recycled freight that makes virgin material cheaper to transport, or ending the depletion allowance on mining resources that makes virgin resources cheaper to extract.

►Getting the most out of resources. Nevertheless, legislators here seem to be committed in principle to getting the most out of our

resources, and that means getting the most out of our garbage.

"Waste is something you don't want, period," explains Dr. Paul Palmer, a chemist. "There's nothing wrong with it other than it happens to be in the wrong hands." He told the legislators he makes money selling one company's waste chemicals

Legislators are looking at recycling with more interest now that the nation's oil and minerals are becoming scarce. But they haven't yet met the issue square-on and demanded a change in our throw-away economy.

to another company or individual who doesn't think of it as waste at all.

Those who have the most to lose from such an attitude are in the business of hauling garbage to be dumped—"God's way of getting rid of refuse," as one witness put it.

An industry spokesman said recycling won't work because it usually means separating out certain types of garbage at home, and "the ladies won't do it."

After the dump, nicknamed the "garbage cemetery" by one witness, the disposal companies favor delivering large amounts of garbage to energy conversion facilities. A few such large-scale facilities are operating or planned in the U.S., but only on the condition that communities supply an established amount of garbage every day or pay the cost of the missing garbage. That condition and a cost estimate of \$77 million are holding up approval on an energy conversion project in Westchester, N.Y., right now, despite enthusiastic support from the county executive.

►Supporters for energy conversion. Large-scale energy conversion has its supporters in California,

too. A \$400,000 study of the San Francisco Bay Area's waste for the state's Solid Waste Management Board is expected to recommend just such a project—and here the recyclers and garbage establishment are already sparing partners.

The plant, if built, would need to consume 90 percent of the Bay Area's garbage and to have a guarantee of that amount for a number of years, thus eliminating much of the potential to recycle and sell the valuable ingredients in the trash. The Bay Area study estimates there is enough metal in the area's garbage to make 125,000 medium-sized cars, enough aluminum for 100 jumbo jets, and so on. Environmentalists here particularly want to see organic wastes used as compost to keep an agriculturally vital delta area from sinking.

The chief critic of large-scale energy conversion plans is the president of Berkeley's Solid Waste Management Commission, Ariel Parkinson. Those who favor large-scale energy conversion, she testified, are really saying "it is easier to take hundreds of millions of dollars out of the pockets of taxpayers for capital investment than it is to get them to change their habits—specifically to put materials in separate piles."

Parkinson is not against making energy from some of the garbage (like plastics and other unrecyclables) but unless small-scale conversion plants can be built, she advocates simply burning the waste to produce energy. She cites a recent report from the General Accounting Office that confirmed that direct combustion is the only commercially viable way of getting energy from garbage right now.

Already Berkeley has received four offers for its municipally-owned trash—from two chemical companies, one city and one private utility-private garbage collection combine. The city knows it has its hands on something valuable, and isn't saying yes to anyone yet.

Gov. Jerry Brown has also referred to urban waste as a "gold mine." In California, people aren't looking down their noses at garbage any more. Linda Siskind is a San Francisco-based freelance writer.



Urban Waste: a potential gold mine

Photo by Cidne Hart/LNS

socialist revolution

IN THE PRESENT ISSUE:

Editorial: Italian Communism and the American Left
Sandra Chelnov: Italy: Abortion and the Autonomous Women's Movement
The Democratic Party and the Left: articles by G. William Domhoff, Dick Flacks, and David Plotke

IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES:

Robert Allen: Race, Class, and Socialism
Harry Boyte: The Populist Challenge of the 1970s
Richard Lichtman: Marx and Freud
Articles on political parties, trade unions, and social movements in the United States.

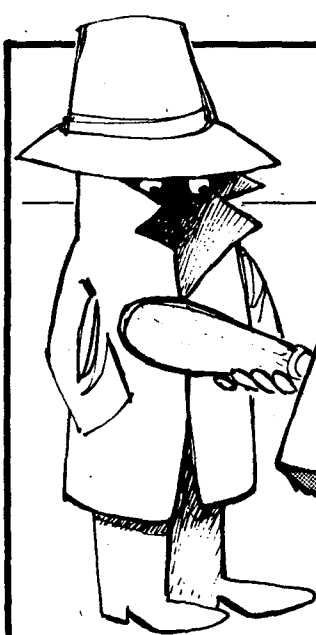
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
AGENDA PUBLISHING COMPANY
396 SANCHEZ STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94114

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE/ZIP _____

- ☐ Subscription (6 issues) \$10 ☐ Foreign subscription \$11
☐ Back issues \$2 (list by number) _____
☐ James Weinstein's *Ambiguous Legacy*: \$3 with subscription
☐ *The Politics of Women's Liberation*: \$1
☐ *Capitalism and the Family*: \$1.50
(Discount available on five or more copies of each pamphlet)



Classified

For Sale

WOMEN'S, LABOR and other political records by mail. Send stamp for catalog to Bread & Roses, 1724 20th NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Jobs Offered

New Midwest research institute seeks unselfish, socially-conscious, non-careerist, MA-PhD MOVEMENT fund-raisers. Prefer economists, political scientists, etc. Semi-scholarly studies on war-peace reconversion, etc. Applicants must READ Gross and Osterman "The New Professionals" pp 33-37, Studs Terkel "Working" pp 525-527, 537-540, Claudia Dreifus "Radical Lifestyles," and address themselves to the contents of this advertisement. Midwest Institute, 1206 N. 6th St., 43201.

For Rent

For Rent: Store-front medical clinic in Chicago. 1700 sq. ft. on near northwest side. Available immediately. 312/489-4444.

Classified rates:

Display:
Per agate line \$.35
Per inch 5.00
Non-display:
Per word .25
(20 word minimum)
Discounts:
3 insertions 5%
10 insertions 10%
26 insertions 20%
52 insertions 25%
(on rebate basis)

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Agency speakers are big biz on campus

By Steve Lenken and Russ Smith
College Press Service

"Hubert Humphrey is the biggest swine ever to be catapulted out of the gutter into politics and he wouldn't know the truth if it crawled up his leg and bit him on the kneecap."

So says Hunter S. Thompson as he struts across the Johns Hopkins University stage, chain-smoking Dunhills, swigging Wild Turkey and muttering something that most people in the hash smoke-filled arena can't hear anyway. He mutters some more and then exits, whispering to his aides, "Can I turn around now, is there anything behind me, are you sure it's all right?"

Thompson was strutting across stages in Australia this fall, but the campus speaker circuit in America rolled on and on. Speakers are sometimes boring, often amusing, always eccentric and they're now hitting colleges in greater numbers than ever before.

"Business has really multiplied, it's really taking off," says Bob Walker, president of the American Program Bureau in Massachusetts, the nation's premier college speaker agency. The nationwide business in campus speakers is "very, very big," said Walker. "I'd hate to guess how big."

Along with the big demands for a variety of speakers goes the large fees being commanded. Fees for each engagement range from \$1,000 to \$5,000 for clients of the firm.

Walker says his agency now has 400 speakers, beginning 12 years ago by bridging a "major communications gap in this country" with Dick Gregory as its first speaker. He claims to run a "very efficient" organization, with a sharp, bright staff of young people and a computer.

"John Dean is hot as hell. Ralph Nader, Julian Bond are completely sold out—we can't fit anyone else in." Walker ticked off more well-known names on

his list. He explained how some speakers will only be home for a few days out of several months on the circuit.

With so many engagements people do tend to get burned out. "Sometimes they don't even know what city they're in." "Greg (Walker's familiarity for Dick Gregory) does 225 dates a year." But the fees are worth the efforts and the bureau claims up to 30 percent of those fees.

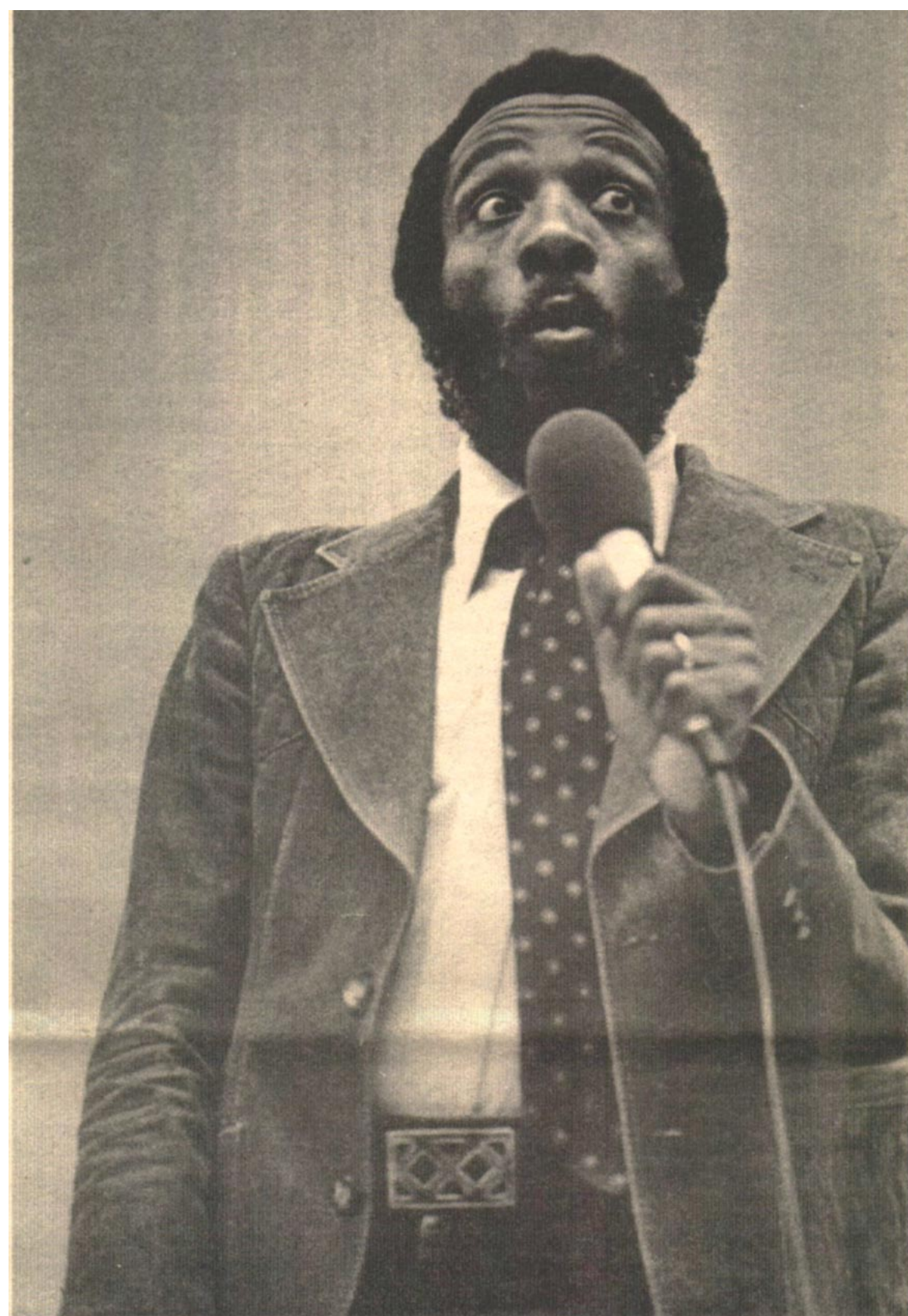
The fees appear expensive, but Walker explains that it's a matter of "supply and demand." He did say that some speakers cut their fees if the audience is a college group.

The highly competitive speaker business has more talent applicants than they can usually handle. The Harry Walker Agency of New York said the hiring of speakers is very selective for their firm. Walker claims to get 30 or 40 calls a week, rejecting more than they can take.

The bureau claims to have opened the college market to the controversial, political people looking for a platform. "We started Timothy Leary off, we did all the blacks, Abbie Hoffman, Jane Fonda, the women's lib movement—we started them off. But at the same time we continued to have cultural speakers like Pearl Buck."

Lord and Dane, another Massachusetts-based agency, said they too have a variety of talent ready to meet college needs. Besides such names as F. Lee Bailey, former Sen. Sam Ervin, Florence Kennedy and George Plimpton, the firm handles programs like Alan Funt and his Candid Camera show, the Gus Giordano Dance Co., and comedian Robert Klein. David LaCamera said the fees for that agency range from \$1,500 to \$3,500.

While declining to comment about prices charged for speaking engagements, a Walker representative said "We know what the market value is...being in the business for 30 years."



Dick Gregory, still a popular campus speaker, was Walker agency's first 12 years ago.

Photo by Image Arts—SD

Their top speakers are William Colby, former CIA director; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former U.N. ambassador; Eldridge Cleaver and Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.).

One college in New Jersey is going to pay Cleaver \$3,000 for

a talk. That same college paid \$2,500 to hear from historian Arthur Schlesinger last year. The steep prices for these speakers is not causing a recession in this field, but the agencies are in agreement that students making

the arrangements are very selective.

With supply and demand strong, college audiences can expect the market value to remain high and the pickings as diverse as possible. ■

Detroit man found innocent after 18 years in prison

Murder conviction overturned; he believes capital punishment "useless"

By Robert Miller

In 1954, a Detroit jury took two hours to find Lee Dell Walker, a 41-year-old black man, guilty of murder.

A gun used in a murder had been found by police in Walker's car, which he had reported as stolen. Walker was arrested and after five days of interrogation he confessed to a murder that he could not have committed.

Even though he did not fit eyewitness descriptions of the killer, Walker was convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life in prison.

Walker could barely read at the age of 30, but he used his time in jail to learn the law and after 18 years in jail he won a new trial.

In the meantime, an investigation by the *Detroit Free Press* had

revealed errors in his original trial. Walker's criminal transcript had said that he had been convicted of a murder in the South some years earlier when in fact he had been serving a four-year sentence for theft of some silverware.

The *Free Press* also found that witnesses who were with Walker at the time of the murder had not been questioned by detectives working on the case.

As a result of this and other evidence, Walker was set free after his second trial.

If there had been capital punishment in Michigan, however, Walker, an investigator for the Public Defender's Office in Detroit, points out, would not be alive today.

To be sure, Walker is a rare

person. While still in prison, his briefs won two decisions before the Michigan Supreme Court and led to the freedom of two fellow prisoners. Nevertheless, Walker's case illustrates the pitfalls of capital punishment.

"I'm 100 percent opposed to capital punishment in any form," Walker told *In These Times* in a recent interview. "It will solve nothing except snuffing out some human being's life." Capital punishment doesn't work, he added. "Many of the states with capital punishment on the books have witnessed the most inhuman murders."

With Gary M. Gilmore's execution by the state of Utah looming in the next couple of weeks, the tide in favor of capital punishment seems to be growing. A

recent Gallup Poll found that 65 percent of Americans were in favor of it.

Eugene Wagner of the Michigan Committee Against Capital Punishment agrees with Walker on the value of the death penalty. "Forty years of studies in America have shown that society is no safer with the death penalty—that capital punishment is virtually useless in fighting crime."

Walker agrees with some of the critics in saying that rehabilitation is not working, but says it is because rehabilitation programs do not "try to motivate prisoners and give them hope for a better future."

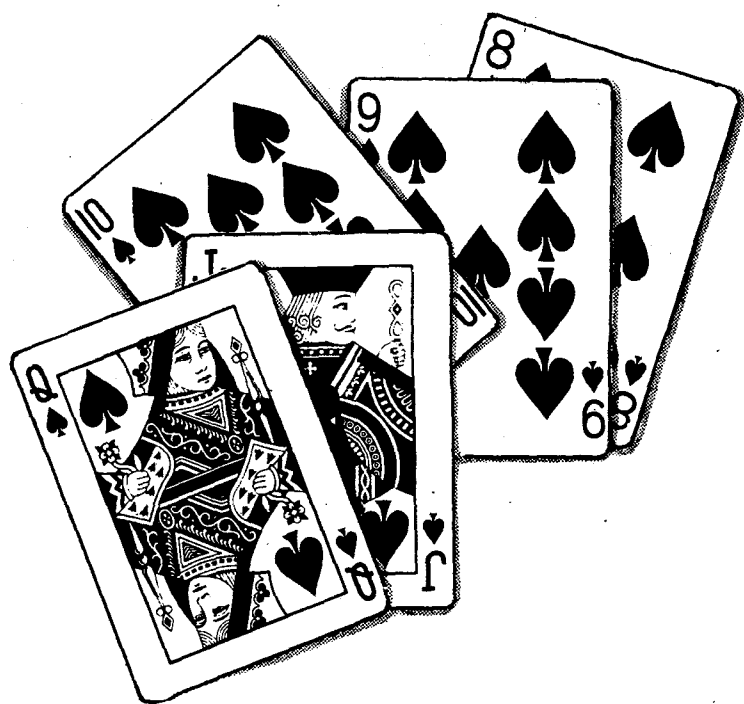
"Prisoners," he says, "should be allowed to retain some contact with the community and especially with their fam-

ilies. They should be taught a skill so they can get a job when they are released. From the warden on down, there is not much effort to rehabilitate. Just as long as it is peaceful, they couldn't care less."

Walker believes that society, which "gives an opportunity to commit crimes," should "also look for the remedy to the problem of crime. It must do away with the economic poverty which often causes violent crime."

Reflecting on his own experience, Walker noted dryly, "If after 18 years someone had said 'Let's revive old Lee Dell Walker and put some life into him,' it wouldn't have done much good."

Robert Miller is a freelance writer living in the Ann Arbor-Detroit area.



Betting on the American dream

By Harmon Henkin

The regulars begin gathering around the backroom table shortly before 1 p.m. They ignore the clerks, secretaries and college students lunching in the cafe section of the bar in Missoula, Mont.

For \$20, between noon and 2, you get \$30 in chips—a bonus from the house, anxious to get its daily poker game and 5 percent rake started early in the day.

The regulars know each other pretty well and even consider themselves friends. The first few minutes of the game are punctuated by repartee about families, the good old days and memorable poker games. Chips are

clicked nervously together. Then one player in the \$100-pot limit game gets stung with a sharp loss and things tighten up. A free-betting newcomer drifts into the game with a big wad and the mood tenses. The regulars sense some easy money.

The house provides free sandwiches and drinks and, on a snowy November afternoon, what more could these men (and an occasional woman) want, especially when they don't have much else to do.

What sort of people have endless afternoons to fritter away watching cards fall?

For the most part, they're pensioned railroad workers and truck

drivers, transients who get mired in town, and recent graduates of the University of Montana whose diplomas haven't guaranteed anything. People with time on their hands. Marginal ones. Not quite the people Marx described as the lumpenproletariat, but not integrated into the economy either.

The ones who win enough usually stay through the afternoon and early evening when the small businessmen, ranchers, and college professors join the game, raising the tempo of betting. Most of the games end around 3 a.m., though some legendary pokerfests have continued for two days or more.

The house always winds up hundreds of dollars ahead. So do one or two players. The rest leave soberly into the frigid night, planning a gambler's revenge for the next game.

► Everyone bets on something.

There are no hard figures on the amount of money bet in America, but it would be a safe wager that it is increasing dramatically. Everyone bets on something, from the outcome of a football game or election to the turn of a roulette wheel.

Atlantic City, N.J., has now joined Nevada in legalizing casino gambling. Montana, Washington and parts of California allow types of poker for various

stakes. Other states are eying gambling as a sure way of raising revenues.

And lotteries. State lotteries seem to be everywhere these days. Photos of beaming winners (never losers) have almost replaced the standard associated Press cheesecake in the daily press. The promise of quick money replacing the hint of sex—What an all-American tradeoff!

Each economic-social class has its own forms of gambling, imbued with dreams of instant rewards: From Montana's grungy bar rooms, to numbers-infested corners of Harlem, to "gentleman's clubs" in Manhattan where thousands of dollars hinge on a rubber of bridge. No group is immune.

The left tends to dismiss gambling as merely a tax on the poor, which, theoretically, it is. Sure, poor people are the least able to handle financial loss. All of capitalism is a tax on the poor. A couple of rungs up the financial ladder the small stock investor, a different type of gambler, gets socked for the largest brokerage commission, not the corporate buyer. But who in their right mind ever claimed this was an equitable society?

As the economy becomes more monolithic and the Fortune 500 tightens its grip, gambling is for most people the only way left to make it—to escape from wage

drudgery and poverty. Even the vaguest illusion of individual enterprise has disappeared. The miraculous basement invention or puritanical devotion to hard work that gave you a million-to-one shot at fame and fortune has vanished. The myth has gone the way of the buffalo herds.

So people gamble. It's legal in many places, and people try their luck even where it isn't. You sit around with people who share your language, values and dreams, and you try to make it. Instant gratification. This is the social fabric of gambling; it is impossible to understand its deep hold on so many without understanding that a group of people around a poker table can be a surrogate family held together by the chance of material gain. It isn't much of a chance, but until large numbers of people see other viable alternatives many will cling to it.

In a "good" society it wouldn't be necessary, but that's for the future: a simple truth that doesn't mean much to the alienated regulars who gather at the bar in Missoula. They and millions of others accept the long shot as the reality of their lives, trying to fill that inside straight that will change their lives.

Harmon Henkin lives in Missoula and writes regularly for *In These Times* on sports and American culture.

The CB cracklestatic and Mr. FCC

By The (Screamin') Montana Jackalope

As a CB racket-jaw my friend the Santa Ana Porkchop is as committed as they come. He wears two rabbit-eared, V-pointed, 5-foot firestick antennas on his mini-camper cab. And he claims or brags that he has a cool grand's worth of friendly communication equipment in his house. The Porkchop earns his living as head window-washer at a shopping center south of Los Angeles (Shakey Town). I don't know what my friend's wife has to say about his CB squanderings, but I do know the Porkchop understands the old Two-Way.

I was scootin' down I-5 one evening last week, and I thought it would be wise to check the Porkchop's take on a bad problem that's been worrying me.

"Break one-nine for the Santa Ana Porkchop," I shouted when I got near my friend's home-20.

"You got him, you got the Porkchop. Come on back."

"What you think, guy," I said, "bout sun spots causing so much cracklestatic that they'll put us modulators out of business?"

A long snort and an illegal whistle screamed out of the car speaker. "That'll happen when the price of gas goes down, the length of Sunday goes up, and California tumbles into the sea."

Well, I'm not such an optimistic fellow as the Porkchop. I decided to call up the FCC, on the phone this time, and ask for The Plain Truth.

"Lookit," I said to Charles Higginbotham, chief of the FCC amateur and citizen's division, which includes CB, "as I understand it, the cycle on sunspots, or eruptions on the surface



CB will live till the price of gas goes down, the length of Sunday goes up, and California tumbles into the sea.

of the sun, is on the upswing."

"That's correct," Higginbotham replied. "Sun turbulence increases the ionization of a layer of the ionosphere far above the Earth. The layer becomes highly reflective so that upwardbound CB signals bounce off instead of passing through. They return 400-1,000 miles from the point of origin."

"In other words," I said, "while I'm modulating with a good buddy outside Omaha, a Breaker from New Orleans could accidentally lunge in on the conversation?"

"Exactly," Mr. FCC said. "Sunspot 'skip' will be active about 30 minutes a day this winter, and by 1979, the height of the 11-year sunspot cycle, it will be nearly continuous during daylight hours. At its peak you'll get

interference in Los Angeles from CBs in Australia."

"Can't you move CB communications to a higher frequency?"

There was a long pause.

"That's under review," Higginbotham said carefully.

"10-7," I said, ending the conversation to do some hard thinking.

The problem with moving the old CB to a higher frequency, you see, is political. NBC, CBS and ABC, the big networks, do not want their broadcasts "stepped on" by fast-mouth amateur DJs all around the nation. There may be 20 million racket-mouths out there, but the networks have been around quite a bit longer. Old William Paley, the head CBS muckamuck, slides around Washington in a slick limousine while you and me have

trouble finding the right exit off the Beltway.

ABC complained earlier this year that the proposed expansion of citizen's band from 23 to 40 channels would interfere with television's Channel 6. Murray Green, general manager of two radio stations in Indianapolis, added another gripe. He was worried that CB was sucking away listeners in modulation-crazy localities like his own Circle City (Indianapolis). Advertising rates would be forced down and profits from his stations would sag.

Now I think Murray is a bit of a crybaby. There ought to be enough airwaves above Sweet Home America for private corporations and for us too at this point, but maybe we're going to have to step out of the front seat and fight for what we want. I have another CB buddy on the West Coast who reminded me of the time-honored solution to a political problem of this nature.

My buddy is an old man and he goes by the handle of Codger Bill. "Do like I do," the Codger said. "Don't agonize. Organize!"

He was right, of course, so next time I was south of Shakey Town I resolved to enlist the Santa Ana Porkchop in the struggle.

But I guess the Porkchop is just not the political type.

"CB will never die," he squawked with blind optimism. "At least not from sunspots. Forget about Washington, D.C. We'll just have to change the Earth's orbit, that's all." 10-4. The (Screamin') Montana Jackalope writes regularly for *In These Times* on CB affairs.

Class bias reflected in news reports

New York. On Oct. 30, 1975, the body of a 15-year-old white teenager, Martha Moxley, was discovered in the exclusive Belle Haven section of Greenwich, Conn. She had been beaten to death with a golf club. In the seven days that followed, the *New York Times*, the *New York Daily News* and the *New York Post* devoted almost 1,800 lines and nine photographs to her death.

In those same seven days, 12 people were murdered in Harlem. The *Post* devoted 85 lines and no photos to four of the 12 and the *News* was completely silent about all 12 victims. The *Times* mentioned five of the victims without photos, while running front-page stories about the sentencing of a Harlem youth for the murder of a young white woman in New York.

A feature writer for the *News* gathered these figures for a recent article in the journalism review *MORE*. They clearly reflect how the homicide coverage of the three major New York dailies restructures reality along class and racial lines.

The picture that consistently emerges from the "intellectual *Times*," the "conservative *News*" and the "liberal *Post*," the article says, is that "blacks and hispanics commit crimes while their role as victim is slight. Victims are white. And the closer they are to the middle-class status of the papers' editors, the bigger the story."

—Liberation News Service

Tokyo Rose wants off merry-go-round

By Art Goldberg and Gary Freedman

One day last month, a slight, dignified, Japanese-American woman slowly made her way up the steps of San Francisco's Main Post Office. Across her left arm she carried a bouquet of American beauty roses. In her right hand she held a large manila envelope addressed to President Ford.

Accompanied by her attorney and members of the Japanese-American Citizens League, Iva Toguri D'Acquino, the woman accused of being "Tokyo Rose" during World War II, handed the envelope to Postmaster Lim P. Lee. It contained her request for a full presidential pardon.

D'Acquino returned to San Francisco to file for the pardon because it was where she had been tried and convicted of treason in 1949. Her trial, at the outset of the McCarthy era, lasted 13 bitter weeks and took place in an almost hysterical anti-Japanese atmosphere.

From the time she was first investigated, through her trial, imprisonment and right up until the present, D'Acquino has maintained that she was innocent. She contends that she was threatened and coerced into broadcasting for the Japanese between 1943 and 1945, and that nothing she said on Radio Tokyo could be remotely considered Japanese propaganda.

Her attorney, Wayne Collins Jr., points out that all of her scripts were written by U.S. Army Capt. Wallace Ince and Australian Army Maj. Charles Cousins. Neither was ever prosecuted, although they were D'Acquino's superiors at Radio Tokyo. Both men were POW's.

Furthermore, Collins notes, the U.S. military transcribed all broadcasts beamed at American troops during the war, but those transcriptions were never played at D'Acquino's trial. The government claimed they had been routinely destroyed. "You can be sure that if there was anything treasonable on those tapes they wouldn't have been destroyed," he said.

► **A victim of anti-Japanese sentiment.** This, and a mass of other evidence recently unearthed under the Freedom of Information Act, suggests that D'Acquino was the victim of anti-Japanese sentiment and a government conspiracy to frame her because the Justice Department could not withstand red-baiting pressure brought to bear by syndicated columnist Walter Winchell.

Undisputed is the fact that there was no "Tokyo Rose." Radio Tokyo employed at least a dozen women, most of the Japanese-Americans, to broadcast to American soldiers. The GIs referred to all of them as "Tokyo Rose," although D'Acquino herself used the name "Orphan Anne" on her highly popular "Zero Hour" program.

Why then was D'Acquino singled out for prosecution? She was born in Los Angeles, ironically July 4, 1916, and graduated from U.C.L.A. in 1941, hoping to go on to medical school. That summer, she was sent to Japan to care for a sick aunt and was unable to get out before the war started. Her family in Japan made it clear that as an Ameri-



Photo by Gary Freedman

can she was no longer welcome to stay with them because her presence caused problems.

Unable to speak much Japanese, she nevertheless found a job at *Domei*, a Japanese news agency. There she typed transcripts of American news broadcasts the agency monitored and met Phillip D'Acquino, a journalist of Portuguese and Japanese descent, whom she later married.

She left *Domei* after repeated conflicts with the staff caused by her pro-American views, but found work at Radio Tokyo, again as a typist. Then, in November 1943, she was threatened with imprisonment if she didn't become a broadcaster for the English language programs.

► **Only person they could trust.**

Ince and Cousins selected her for the prime-time "Zero Hour" show because they felt she was the only person they could trust not to turn it into a propaganda vehicle—that she could be trusted to stick to the innocuous, or subtly satirical (of the Japanese) scripts they were writing.

All the other broadcasters had renounced their American citizenship and become Japanese citizens, but D'Acquino did not. She remained outspoken in her views, and once got into serious trouble by playing "Stars and Stripes Forever" during her show.

At the end of the war, she was thoroughly investigated by the Army Counter-Intelligence Corps and cleared of any wrongdoing.

Her troubles began when she applied to re-enter the U.S. Win-

chell learned of her application and, aided by Hearst journalists Harry Brundige and Clark Lee, launched a campaign to indict D'Acquino for treason.

The other broadcasters were by then Japanese citizens and couldn't be prosecuted under American law. Besides, none of them had tried to re-enter the U.S. D'Acquino probably could have avoided prosecution had she gone to Portugal with her husband, but she insisted upon returning to the U.S.

In 1947, the Justice Department sent a special emissary to try to convince Winchell that there was no case against D'Acquino, but Winchell replied that the department must be "Communist-dominated" (the cold war had just begun) and kept pounding away.

In 1948, a presidential election year, the government yielded to Winchell and convinced a reluctant federal grand jury in San Francisco to indict D'Acquino on eight counts of treason. "It was necessary for me to practically make a Fourth of July speech to obtain an indictment," prosecutor Tom DeWolfe wrote the department.

► **No disloyal state of mind.**

A few months later, Hiromo Yagi, the main government witness, admitted he had lied to the grand jury, and DeWolfe anxiously wrote to Washington that "testimony will disclose that subject (D'Acquino) did not adhere to the enemy or possess the requisite disloyal state of mind."

Undaunted, the government brought close to a dozen other

witnesses from Japan, closeted them in a hotel and coached them for a month before the trial on what they were to say on the witness stand. At least two of these witnesses now say they were forced to lie in 1949, and that D'Acquino is innocent. A third, the former chief of Japanese Intelligence, says his agency was never able to make "Zero Hour" a propaganda vehicle and that their efforts to do so were repeatedly frustrated.

Collins also points out that his late father, who defended D'Acquino in 1949, produced a witness during the trial who said he saw a memo from the head of the Navy's Western Defense Command that recommended that his men listen to "Zero Hour" because it was "good for morale." The man was not allowed to testify.

Despite the government's suppression of important evidence, its intimidation of defense witnesses and the judge's reluctance to admit crucial defense testimony, the jury reported itself deadlocked after several days of deliberation. Judge Michael Roach told them it had been a long and costly trial and urged them to come back with a verdict.

► **Acquittal on seven, guilt on one.**

A short time later the jury returned with a compromise. It acquitted D'Acquino on seven counts, but found her guilty on one. All appeals were rejected and she spent the next 6½ years in a federal prison. When she was released in 1956 the government tried to deport her, but failed.

D'Acquino moved to Chicago where she quietly helped run her family's import business. Her husband, who testified on her behalf, was never allowed into the U.S. again. D'Acquino herself has been extremely reluctant to dredge up old memories, but in 1974, the citizens league began a campaign to obtain a pardon for her.

Her petition has the support of the American Civil Liberties Union, the California Legislature, the Los Angeles City Council (which urged her indictment 29 years ago), the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and California Atty. Gen. Evelle Younger, a political ally of former Gov. Ronald Reagan.

When reporters asked D'Acquino why she was applying for the pardon she spoke of "general feelings of freedom," and expressed the hope that the "climate" had changed. "I've lived on a merry-go-round for almost 30 years," she noted. "Now it's time to get off."

Dr. Clifford Uyeda of the citizens league was more direct. "We hope through the presidential pardon to redeem her personal integrity and restore her American citizenship," he said, "thus removing any question of disloyalty or the stigma of treason."

According to Collins, if Ford fails to act before he leaves office the matter will automatically come before Jimmy Carter.

Art Goldberg is a former editor of *Ramparts*, was a founder of the *Berkeley Tribe* and is just finishing a book with Charles Garry to be published by E.P. Dutton. Gary Freedman has worked as a photographer for the Associated Press and his pictures have appeared widely.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Exclusive In These Times interview

Mary Travers: '80s will be splendid

"I see music as articulating what people are feeling about. I think the music has been very dull, very unimaginative for the last couple of years because the culture was. Everybody was waiting for the other shoe to drop, and while they were waiting, the music had that aspect to it—a lack of vitality, a lack of direction, a lack of excitement and ideas."

Mary Travers is best-known as one-third of Peter, Paul and Mary, the folk group that in many ways symbolized the activism and spirit of the late '50s and early '60s. Since 1970, Travers has performed as a solo act in clubs and concert halls around the country.

With four albums of her own out—*Mary*, *Morning Glory*, *All My Choices* and *Circles*—Travers has still not gotten the exposure and recognition that her full, rich voice and songs deserve. In part she blames this on the lack of promotion by her (now former) recording company, Warner, a problem she shared with Peter Yarrow and Paul Stookey.

Travers is quick to admit, however, that society turned away from the socially conscious music she performs.

"There was a whole period of music at that point in the early '70s that was indicative of what was happening in the country, and it was not personal or optimistic."

"All art forms reflect society. Music does not create the revolution. It articulates it maybe, but it is not a leading force. Something has to be happening in society first.... Today there is no edge; there is no direction in music. Disco does not constitute a creative movement in music. It has a purpose; it's to dance to. That's all..."

"I think the country suffered terrible blows in the latter half of the '60s," she says, "with all the assassination and the unresponsiveness of the government—unresponsive in a way that it had not been unresponsive before. In previous times, when there was extended pressure from people over extended periods of time, the government moved off the dime. And that didn't happen in the '60s."

The election of Jimmy Carter, a "well-meaning person," may make some difference, Travers believes. "In order to have change you have to have someone who pivots, someone who is responsive to change." Be-

cause Carter depended on blacks and labor for his victory he owes them a debt. Not in the "old-fashioned way," she is quick to point out.

"Nobody could have put the black vote together at this juncture. There are no black leaders that could have delivered up the black vote. [Carter] got the black vote on a very democratic level, and he is going to democratically have to pay it back."

The songs she chooses to sing are ones "that have words that make sense to me. I find that I want to talk about feelings and ideas."

An example of a song whose words didn't make sense to her was "I Am Woman." "I can't stand that song. I can't stand it because there is one line in it I couldn't sing. So I took a pass on it, even though the intention of the song was an honorable intention and an intention that I would like to have honored. But I just couldn't hang with the line about 'I am invincible.' I felt that was exactly what was wrong with the women's movement at that time. But that is the thing about songs—they do articulate where somebody is at, at that moment, including politically."

"At the time that song was

written, the women's movement was still in a very offensive, as opposed to defensive—well, offensive because of being defensive—position, and it was angry. The invincible was obviously a part of the writer's subconscious desire to say 'I can't be hurt by this anymore, I can't be broken by it anymore.' Well, that is bullshit. You can always be broken."

She admits that the women's movement, which has influenced her life and thoughts significantly, is "going through a lot of changes... It had to start dealing with not just its own problems, but the whole question of sexual liberation that was intrinsically tied to the women's movement—maybe inaccurately, but tied because women were viewed as sex objects and it was hard to get out from under on a pure, human basis."

"I think what is going to happen now is very exciting. We are talking now about real social change, real innovative and revolutionary social change, not just talking about power shifts."

Travers is optimistic about the future. "I have a feeling that the '80s are going to be just splendid."

Asked about specific changes

she sees coming, she says: "I think that our economic system is going to be changed a great deal. You will see some adoptions of what other nations would call socialist methods of dealing with certain kinds of economic and social problems. We won't call it socialism, mind you; we'll call it something else. But what's in a name? A rose is a rose; we'll know it's a rose; they can call it a peony if they want. It seems to be the only reasonable way to deal with certain very monumental problems...."

"I'm not saying that we are not going to have corruption in the government and that we are not going to have escapism in art. And I'm not going to say that everything's going to be gorgeous tomorrow morning, but I do think there's a real opportunity at this particular moment in time for there to be a regeneration of values, a regeneration of thinking and asking questions and looking for some answers. We'll obviously not find all the answers we want, but we'll find some of them. That to me is very exciting and I feel very optimistic.... Besides, it doesn't pay to be pessimistic."

—Doyle Niemann



Independent, dispassionate analysis of the American left?

You won't find it anywhere else, it's

IN THESE TIMES

name _____

street _____

city/state/zip _____

A subscription costs \$15 per year.
Mail your check to New Majority
Publishing Co., Inc., 1509 N.
Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622.

Last week, Chauve-Souris (Bat), 1897, by Clement Ader.

Homosexuality hits the big screen

NORMAN, IS THAT YOU?

Directed by George Schlatter; screenplay by Ron Clark and Sam Bobrick
Starring Redd Foxx
Rated G.

THE RITZ

Directed by Richard Lester; screenplay by Terrence McNally
With Rita Moreno
Rated R.

The world does move! In this winter of '76-77 neighborhood theaters all over the U.S. are showing a G-rated film about male homosexuality.

And in the same season we have *The Ritz*, another mass-market hit, with the same motif, but with an R rating!

The two films have little in common except the subject matter and the level of public acceptance.

Norman, Is That You? is a bland comedy that stars Redd Foxx in a new role, as the insulated petit-bourgeois black father who asks, when he learns that his son is gay, "What did I do wrong?" The film's answer—Nothing.

Foxx and the audience are there to learn that being gay is just one of a number of choices people can make about how to lead their lives.

The film opens with Norman (played by Michael Warren) in bed with his Caucasian boyfriend. It's a nice middle-class bed with multi-colored sheets. They may be in bed, but they are undeniably clean.

Norman's father, a cleaning store operator, stumbles into the discovery of his son's new lifestyle when he seeks him out to tell him that his mother (Foxx's wife, played by Pearl Bailey) has run off to Mexico with his brother.



"There's a sexual revolution, and it's all happening in my family!" says Foxx, and goes off to a bookstore where he loads up on thick tomes about homosexuality.

Norman is a man's film. Tamara Dobson, who plays a young woman who learns the hard way about Norman, plies him with liquor, thinking that his "true sexual nature" will come out under the influence of alcohol. The morning after, she is fixing his eggs when it occurs to her to ask, "Did you take advantage of me last night?" Norman says "No." She makes a sour face and dumps his eggs. Heavy-handed, but educational, maybe.

The Ritz is different. The setting is a gay (male) New York city bathhouse and the plot is a wild romp, filled with slapstick.

It takes off from a deathbed scene of the Vespucci family, gathered around its revered father.

The old man's last words are "Get Proclo." Now, Gaetano Proclo happens to be his son-in-law—a fat, innocent garbage collector. Nobody knows why the old man wanted him dead, but it's too late to argue the point. There's nothing to do but sacrifice Gaetano to satisfy the dear departed.

Carmine, Gaetano's adversary and his wife's brother, is played by Jerry Stiller as a perfect blend of gangster and business man. Jack Weston is Gaetano, a perfect suburban (Cleveland) chump. Knowing that Carmine is out to set him up, Gaetano takes a room at the Ritz, sure that this is the most unlikely place where his straight-laced in-law would look for him. Little does he know that the gay bathhouse he goes to hide in is a part of Carmine's "empire."

Poor Gaetano finds himself being chased by his murderous brother-in-law, lusted after by

an old army friend, and hustled by Googie Gomez (Rita Moreno), the Hispanic entertainer featured by the Ritz. She's been told our hero is a Big Producer, and goes after him in hopes of getting her Big Break.

The result is a fast-paced, outrageously funny, sweetheart of a film. The bathhouse patrons accept the chase as part of the evening's action. The Vespucci family alternately quakes and shudders at what they find when they invade the Ritz. And it all comes out fine as a fiddle.

Director Richard Lester and playwright McNally have given us a wild comedy, which is gently gay. It can be said of both films that they derive their humor from something other than putdowns of another minority. There is no ugliness, no violence. Just two films that give the viewer a look at the world of gay men.

Sam Silver is a free-lance journalist who lives in San Francisco.

Two lesbian poets



Valerie Taylor

TWO WOMEN: The Poetry of Jeannette Foster and Valerie Taylor
Womanpress, 1976, Chicago, \$3.25

Today there are hundreds of published works by contemporary lesbian poets. These works, whether fierce, bitter or celebratory, share both a passion and a self-awareness that reflect the social movement that nurtured them.

Jeannette Foster wrote all her poems—and Valerie Taylor, most of hers—before this recent flowering of lesbian poetry. For most of their lives being gay was, as Jeannette Foster has said, "like having syphilis."

To some modern eyes, Foster's and Taylor's work will appear crude, the work of two people

who didn't have the luxury of time that men have more often had to perfect literary technique. But putting the poems in their social and historical context one sees that such judgments are irrelevant. If the work is crude, it is crude like a cavewoman's painting where a leap forward in human consciousness is sketched triumphantly.

Rarely have women, in male-built modern civilization, pulled from their heads poems about loving one another, sexually or not sexually.

Foster's poetry was written between 1916 and 1938. (She also wrote the monumental *Sex Variant Women in Literature*, see *ITT*, Dec. 6). The strength of women comes out as strong gusts amid descriptions of sorrows and

setbacks in love. Her imagery is drawn almost entirely from nature. It's not new to compare women with natural forces—in terms of coyness, unpredictability, sensuality and the like.

Foster's nature images, instead, show women to have tremendous power, power to reckon with and to respect: "...you are the sea itself, strong surging, / Rushing all day long up the hissing shingle...wearing away the beaches below the sea wall."

Foster also writes of her own personal resolve, her belief in herself, her lifestyle before it was at all easy: "There shall be great music...lifting the heart up/ into the unimagined...There will be dark starred nights/ Full of a large and restless wind.../ Wide blue days purgent of earth and pine, / And rain and rain and rain/ Lashing us in together."

One poem, spare and direct, sums up the strength of this woman's determination (she is in her 80s): "Clear-eyed I made my choice: / Life a calm stagnant thing, / Or glad with suffering; / Urged by no outer voice/ Clear-eyed I made my choice."

Taylor's poems, written between 1940 and 1975, range over wider topics, with humor, charm, sorrow, joy and even an occasional sexual smirk. When she writes as "The Sweet Little Old Grey-Haired Lady in Sneakers," she writes in the forthright political style of the '60s, and does it better than most: "I am a woman, a lesbian, a creative spirit, a worker, a handicapped person,

a peacemaker, an Indian, over sixty/ An eight-time loser, how can I not be a revolutionary?..."

She can also successfully parody such well-known poets as e.e. cummings, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Carl Sandburg.

Taylor ended her marriage at 40 and took on the support of her three sons. Through all the years of going it alone as a rural teacher, office worker and lesbian, she did not lose her spirit or her sense of humor. She published seven lesbian novels. Long live rural school teachers who manage to write seven lesbian novels!

Directness and description are her fortes. She can sketch—like a Japanese artist using few strokes—a moment of pure happiness, the absence of a lover, morning glories, waking up to bleakness. She also deals directly with aging, and a sexual relationship with a younger woman: "Removing/ Bifocals from my tired eyes, I nodded/ Knowing how many an aging heart is prodded/ By the sharp stick of desperate last-ditch loving..."

Torie Osborn and Jane Melnick

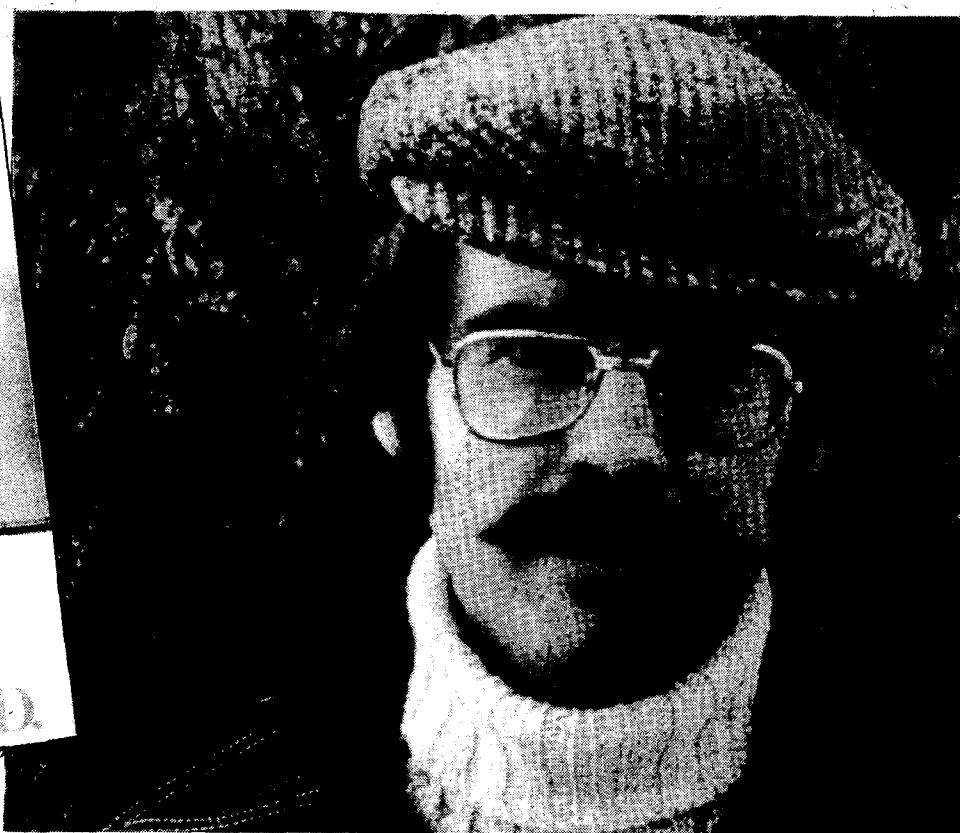
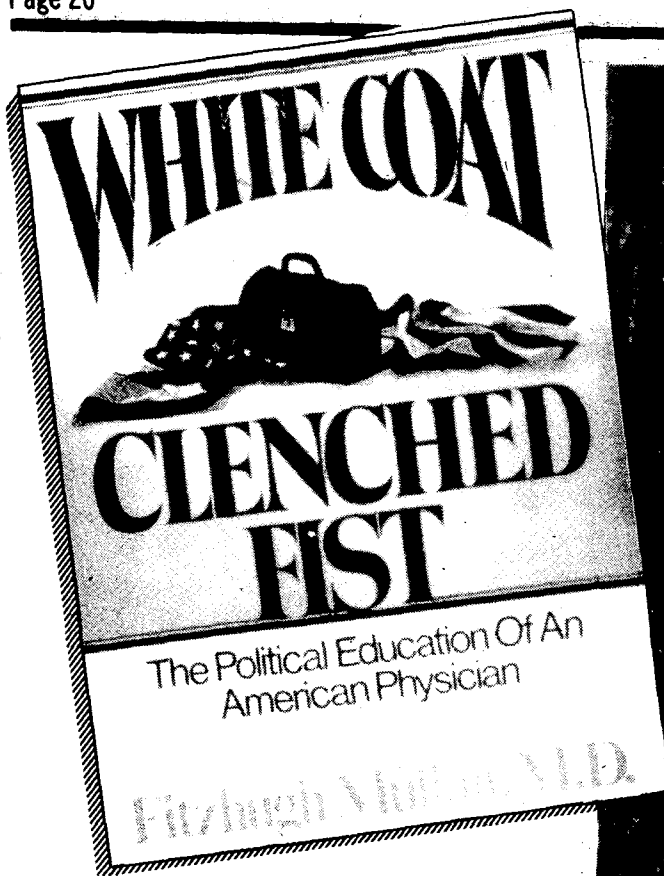
IN THESE TIMES

Ever see the ads big magazines take out to sell advertising space in their own pages? Promising that their readership, according to a scientific survey, contains the highest percentage of the most educated, sophisticated consumers ever brought together on one list? The single men making over 30,000, just itching to buy the latest fast car?

The women most recently promoted to the executive suite, waiting to hear about the latest in stereo equipment and new styles in liqueurs? Well, in *These Times* isn't promising that. But a very unscientific survey, made right here in our own office, shows that our readers are among the most active, dedicated and concerned in the U.S.. So, if you have something you'd like them to read, see, know about, ride in, eat, drink or wear,

THIS SPACE COULD BE YOURS

For information about advertising rates and dates, contact Timothy J. Naylor, Advertising Director, in *These Times*, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622, (312) 489-4444.



Ho hum, Vonnegut again

SLAPSTICK

By Kurt Vonnegut
Delacorte, N.Y., \$7.95

In the late 1950s J.D. Salinger was teenage America's favorite writer and Kurt Vonnegut was known only to science fiction fans. Today science fiction is fast becoming the rage in English departments around the country, Salinger's reputation is fading and Vonnegut has become a best-selling author.

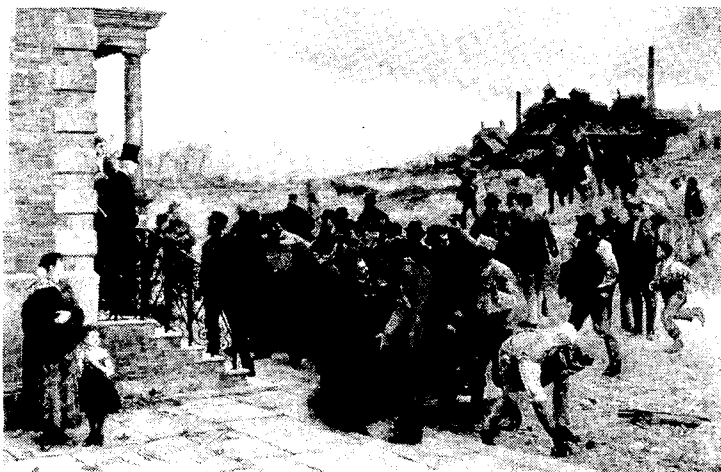
This may seem like significant change, but anyone who reads Vonnegut's new novel, *Slapstick*, will discover that what passes for action on the best-seller lists is little more than a game of literary musical chairs.

Slapstick opens with the writer's description of his meanderings to and from family funerals and his subdued tribute to the memory of his dead sister. He claims to have composed the

Labor's Day ART PRINT ORIGINALS

— as Greeting Cards
— for Decoupage

Full color, beautiful and unique, on art paper folded to 6" x 9". Add a personal message inside. They make great gifts and many will want to display and perhaps mount them. At 50% discount and with envelopes if you order 25 or more.



"The Strike" (1886) by Robert Koehler

The superb and long-neglected, earliest painting of industrial conflict by a fine artist.

ROBERT KOEHLER

Born 1850 in Hamburg. Son of a seamstress and a skilled machinist raised in Milwaukee apprenticed as engraver studied in Munich and worked there at his art preferring to portray working people. Director of the Minneapolis School of Art, 1893 to 1914. Died 1917 Minneapolis.



"The Carpenter's Family" by Robert Koehler

The Madonna of tradition — but look again, truly she's a carpenter's wife in a work setting. First reproduction. 19th century masterpiece of naturalism.

Just 75¢ each — 50% off for gift boxes of 25!

Send \$1 (75¢ plus 25¢ postage/handling) for single copy, either print.

Send just \$10 for 25 of either Art Print Original at 50% discount, with envelopes boxed and postpaid.

Poster 13-1/2" x 20-1/2" of "The Strike" also available suitable for framing with story of the painting, postpaid — \$2.50.

GREEN MOUNTAIN EDITIONS

462 N. Main Street

Oshkosh, Wis. 54901

Enclosed find check for \$_____, send postpaid:

_____ 25 cards/envelopes, "The Strike" \$10

_____ 25 cards/envelopes, "Carpenter's Family" \$10

_____ single copy, "The Strike" \$1

_____ single copy, "Carpenter's Family" \$1

_____ poster, "The Strike" \$2.50

MY NAME _____

PLEASE PRINT

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP _____

Please send information to this friend: _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

The making of a radical doctor

WHITE COAT, CLENCHED FIST: The Political Education of an American Physician
By Fitzhugh Mullan, M.D.
Macmillan, N.Y., 1976, \$9.95

The opening pages of *White Coat, Clenched Fist* find Fitzhugh Mullan—Harvard graduate, first-year med student at the University of Chicago—sitting with a shotgun in his lap as one of three night guards protecting a dilapidated country church in Holmes county, Mississippi. The church was serving as the weekly meetingplace of the Freedom Democratic party and had already been vandalized once.

Although medicine was the family profession, Mullan's first year as a student had all but turned him off. It was "in the woods of Mississippi...far away from the labs and lecture halls... (that) I discovered why I wanted to be a doctor."

He went back to finish his training, but not uncritically. "The fact is that I have never felt comfortable with medicine as it is taught, organized or practiced in the United States." His account of medical school, internship and residency is the story of his "awakening to the non-medical and nonscientific forces that were shaping my education...Most of them were not the kind of things that the public envisions their doctors spending time and energy learning. But they were real, time-consuming and...character forming...They were the politics of an education in medicine in the present epoch."

To counter these forces Mullan became involved in the radical Student Health Organization at the University of Chicago and later in the medical collective at Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx. The Lincoln Collective chapter is perhaps the most interesting chapter in a highly interesting book.

Thirty interns and residents recruited from organization contacts plus 10 Lincoln residents (mostly Filipino) came together to provide good health-care service "with accountability and participatory democracy" to the surrounding community of 300,000 mostly black and Puerto Rican residents of the South Bronx, who were "racially disparate, linguistically divided..."

isolated...alienated in countless social, economic and ethnic ways.

The members wrestled with the question of what it really means to "serve the people in a particular context." They learned to respect "a person's practice as opposed to his rhetoric." They worked with supporting groups, including the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement, the Young Lords and the Black Panthers.

There are vivid vignettes of collective meetings, confrontations, individual patients and parents, as well as staffers; and the fate of the effort generates an extraordinary degree of suspense.

The book, as Mullan says in his preface, is "hardly a dispassionate account of health care in America." It is instead the story of the education—formal and otherwise—of a young radical of the 1960s, the story of a generation "who have continued to question the structure of American society...and have collectively labored to change it."

Mullan's assessment of what has happened to that generation is important:

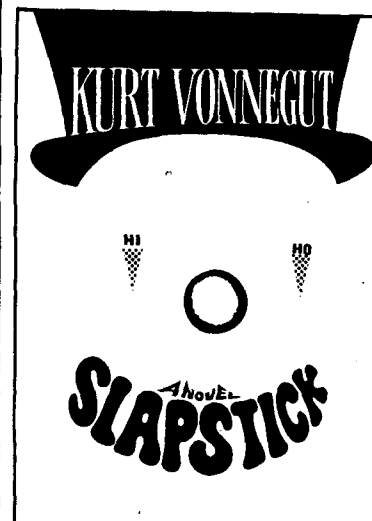
"Many old friends of mine lead far sparer material existences than I do and continue to be involved regularly in organizations of protest, while others have grown totally apolitical or completely self-seeking."

"One only needs to see Abbie Hoffman hawking wallpaper on television or follow the peregrinations of Rennie Davis on behalf of an ice-cream-crazed, teenage guru to realize how far afield the activists of the '60s have gone in an effort to adapt to the '70s."

"In medicine many of us have had an easy, if seductive, route into the profession....The notoriety we received has generally opened rather than closed doors for us, so that becoming part of the system has been almost unavoidable. Many of us now labor away at establishment jobs...nagged by a sense of not doing what we were supposed to be doing, or even worse, perhaps doing what we were not supposed to be doing...[wondering] with varying degrees of enthusiasm if some day there really will be a revolution."

—Henrietta Moore

Henrietta Moore is a feminist and civil rights activist who lives in Winnetka, Ill.



novel that follows in the spirit of Laurel and Hardy comedy—the "slapstick" that his dying sibling proclaimed all life to be.

Comprised mainly of the memoirs of a whimsical creation named "Dr. Wilbur Daffodil-11 Swain," the narrative swings wildly back and forth between vapid satire on contemporary American life and a flawed science fiction plot, best represented by the news that the main character, a 100-year-old pediatrician, has been elected president of a United States nearly decimated by foreign flu on a campaign that featured such slogans as "Lonesome No More."

Like his earlier novel, *Breakfast of Champions*, this book moves flaccidly along, propelled as much by the author's boredom as by any narrative suspense. Nevertheless, its listless pages and half-hearted criticisms of modern society seem to satisfy a need on the part of many readers. Perhaps *Slapstick* makes them feel they are participating in a serious cultural critique while at the same time it allows them the luxury of dissolving the results into harmless fantasy.

Norman Mailer once called Salinger "the best mind never to get out of prep school." Vonnegut is a graduated example of the same ineffectual attack on alienation and social illusion. He is the best sophomoric novelist working today.

—Alan Chuse

Alan Chuse teaches literature at Bennington College and reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Real unemployment is double official rate

Given the constituencies from which Jimmy Carter got his biggest pluralities, the problem of unemployment was probably the cutting edge of his November victory. In the decaying northeast, among union rank and file and particularly among blacks, Carter's promise to deal quickly and directly with unemployment clearly differentiated him from Ford. Ford's "inflation first" policy, not the Nixon-Watergate heritage, consigned him to an historical indentification with Herbert Hoover. And, as a matter of fact, Carter likes to compare the 1976 election to the Hoover-Roosevelt campaign of 1932.

Well, Carter has fulfilled the first requirement in picking up the F.D.R. mantle—he's been elected. What's next? What will he do about unemployment, the problem that made possible his election?

Before reviewing Carter's options, the size and nature of the unemployment problem must be examined. Unemployment has climbed to 8.1 percent, the highest figure in more than a year, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics figures. Meanwhile, Department of Commerce reports growing business inventories and lower levels of industrial production which will doubtless push unemployment even higher before Carter assumes office. Some business economists have not ruled out double digit unemployment by early or mid 1977, regardless of Carter's actions. These are not the gloomy predictions of a left newspaper: They come from the Chase Manhattan Bank.

►An anatomy of who isn't working.

In summary, the present structure of unemployment in the United States looks like this:

National average—5.4 percent.
Male heads of households—7.7 percent.
Adult women—7.7 percent.
Non white—13.6 percent.

Teenagers—19.0 percent.

Non white teenagers—35.0 percent. These official figures distinctly understate the real amount of unemployment. First, to be counted as unemployed, you have "to be looking for work." That imposes at least two requirements on non-working people—first, they must regularly report to some employment agency and second, they have to believe they can find jobs. For many unemployed, lack of information, travel and home problems make "getting counted" impossible. For others, the belief that there are no jobs makes it psychologically impossible to fulfill the "looking for work" requirement.

In early 1975, when official unemployment figures were running at about the current rate, a government survey concluded that at least 3.1 million people were uncouned. This figure has probably grown, but even taking the same estimates gives a real unemployment rate of about 11 percent.

But that's not all. "Part time" workers should also be counted. Department of Labor Statistics do not distinguish between one hour of work a week and 40 hours. In either case, you're considered to be working. About four million workers are in the involuntary part-time category, working about half a week. These four million jobs should be counted as two million full time workers and two million unemployed.

If we add these two million to our earlier additions to the official figures, the real unemployment rate grows to about 13 percent. Moreover, the unemployment rate for blacks, the young, and women, already incredibly high, would now skyrocket, since these groups contain the highest percentages of those "not looking" and employed part time.

Real unemployment estimates could be expanded even more if the disguised

unemployment of unpaid family workers and full-time workers earning less than the poverty line annual income of \$4,200 were counted. Accuracy here is difficult because of double-counting, but there would be little exaggeration in saying that actual unemployment, after counting the sub-employed and disguised unemployment, is running at about 15-16 percent—just about double the official figures.

►On pretending it doesn't exist.

Over the past two years, administration and business spokesmen have glossed over the significance of unemployment. One technique has been to show that head of household unemployment is well below the national average. Unemployment among women and teenagers has been presented as merely peripheral. *Forbes Magazine* recently explained that the place of women and teenagers in the labor force is one of "casual attachment." "They often have less of a stake in earning a paycheck," *Forbes* said, because "in many cases working husband and parents are there to take care of providing the necessities of life." It may be that way in Scarsdale, but it isn't in Buffalo.

Such arguments are intended to prepare the way for a redesignation of the way we count the unemployed. If unemployed teenagers and women are rated 1 to 3 for a male head of household in the "significance" of their unemployment, then the official figures will be reduced and everything will be better for everyone—right! Sure it will.

Lest you are not convinced that teenage and female unemployment is really a problem, consider this: Among female workers (and women comprise about 40 percent of the labor force), less than 25 percent can be called "pin money" earners. Fully 75 percent of working women are single, widowed, divorced or separated, or are married to husbands earning less than \$12,600 per year (the government minimum for a "moderate" income for a family of four). And teenage unemployment, is it really a problem? One need only turn to the data on rising juvenile crime and drug addiction for an answer.

Unemployment among blacks and other minorities has generally received more serious attention from unemployment apologists—at least since the ghetto riots of the 1960s. Recently, a Brookings Institution study concluded that most minority unemployment was voluntary, simply the process of "shifting between 'crummy' jobs." The proposed remedy: more education and training so that blacks

can escape 'crummy' jobs. It is surprising that such an idea can still be put forth as a "solution" to black unemployment. To be sure, existing retraining programs have been inadequately funded, but even where funds have been adequate (i.e. Detroit), unemployment among adult black men remains about double the rate among whites.

Meanwhile, head of household unemployment in general supposedly the bedrock measure of the unemployment problem, has also been steadily rising in the past year. The apologists have no "explanation" for this development. Politically it is this trend they fear the most.

►A not-so-well-known statistic.

Sometimes forgotten when we consider unemployment is that it is a flow and not a stock. About 7.8 million are now officially out of work (and a lot more if we counted accurately), but the unemployed are always changing. People are dropping in out of the unemployment pool. One the one hand, that is a good thing. Comparatively few people are unemployed for a full year the apologists will tell us. On the other hand, it means a lot of Americans experience some unemployment sometime each year. In the past year 21 million American workers experienced 30 million separate spells of official unemployment. By official measurements, almost one in every four workers was out of work for a time. Thus unemployment is a very broad base among American workers. In fact, involuntary unemployment as an actual experience is more common to the American worker than to workers in practically all European countries with the possible exceptions of Italy and Spain.

►On Carter's promises.

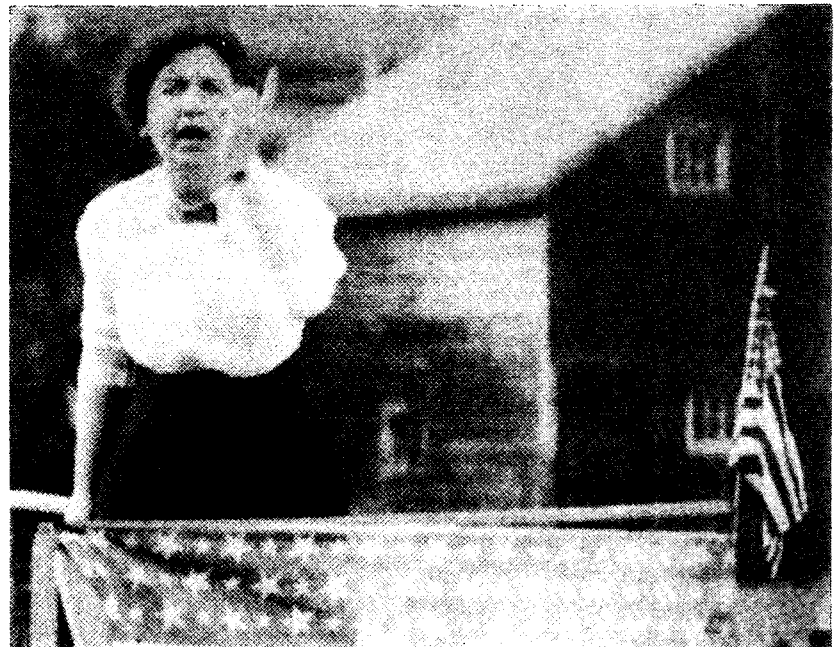
Jimmy Carter owes his election to the failure of modern corporate capitalism to provide jobs for American workers. Sooner or later in some form or another, Carter will have to present a "program" to deal with unemployment. The problem will not be evaded by a "nothing to fear but fear itself" speech from the capital steps. Like F.D.R., Carter takes office in a time of great urgency. Unlike F.D.R., Carter's available options are severely limited. We shall explore these options and their limitations in my next column.

Robert Carson teaches economics at State University College, Oneonta, N.Y., and is the author of *Main Line to Oblivion: the Disintegration of New York Railroads in the 20th Century*.

Step right up folks!

For your amusement and profit,
the great In These Times
circulation-building contest.
The more subscriptions you sell,
the greater your chances for reward.
Prizes for winners and also-rans
from the premier manufactories of
the capitalist world.

Watch for it in our January 3rd issue.



Letters

A socialist nude centerfold?

Editor:

"You should see what you're missing" (ITT, Nov. 29) gives its centerfold uncritically to well-meaning TV writers. But never asks why—why most people watch "pap" instead of public TV or shooting their TV sets; or why we would be culturally or politically better off if professional TV writers were free to use TV as their personal "artistic medium," or whether TV could have "feelings and passion" unless this is desired by the owners and advertisers (and why they would desire this).

You shouldn't write about "culture" with your right hand and at the same time write about politics with the left. Or are we being prepared for an "artistic" independent socialist female nude centerfold?

Good luck, nonetheless.

—David Webster
Cambridge, Mass.

Boxcars without engines

Editor:

One can no more judge what unions do by comparing union and non-union wage rates than one can judge what locomotives do by comparing their rate of travel with that of the trains they pull. If David Moberg saw a box-car going along just as fast as the engine that preceded it, I hope he would not conclude that box-cars could get around just as well without engines. But people unfortunately do come to that sort of conclusion from the sort of comparison of union and non-union pay rates that Moberg gives in "Labor movement—stuck but stirring" (ITT, Nov. 29).

An IWW cartoon showed these wage relations clearly. It depicted a union man, carrying a non-unionist on his back, and pushing a wheelbarrow in which sat a man whose boss paid a dime above union scale to discourage unionism. Its moral was that all would get along faster if the two riders got off and pushed. Throughout the same general culture pay rates from below minimum to top scale are so tied together by historically developed notions of living standards, that one can come a bit closer to estimating what unions do by comparing these living standards in lands where unions are active and in lands where they are not. That approach also gives us some idea of what misery we would be in if the growth of industry had not been tempered by the growth of unions.

—Fred Thompson
Chicago

Socialism without gobbledegook

Editor:

Editor:

The New Republic is taken over by Singer Sewing Machine and now the Nation is taken over by Rockefeller money, so nothing is left that is not sectarian or phony, and the new newspaper should really get a good reception. I will recommend it highly, I know. And I think it should be made plain that it is possible to write about socialism without gobbledegook.

—Virginia Durr
Wetumpka, Ala.

But we know what we like

Editor:

I hope in your arts section that you will go beyond specific coverage of art events and persons and deal with the politics of culture. This should set up a lively exchange from your readers.

Questions of interest to artists/rebels/consumers:

•Are we recovering from the cultural purge of the 50's? Is that era responsible for the cultural alienation of the labor movement from artists and intellectuals? Is the women's movement mending the "culture gap" between art and the left?

•Why aren't "fine" artists organized? Will they forever be captive to the "art establishment"? When will they be able to make an honest living? Why are young musicians so anti-union? Is the musicians union trying to adapt to a new generation's needs? Let's hear it from the Musicians Union and from Actors Equity.

•Does art need democracy? Can an esthetic develop without a leisure class? Without a middle class? Without a free press? Without non-aligned critics (critics who serve art before politics)? Is there an authentic esthetic in China? In Russia? Can you describe it? What's happening (besides film) in countries where artists have more state support, like Sweden, Germany, Israel? If we subsidize our artists, will they bite our hand? (see Ingmar Bergman)

•Does the life support of art necessarily proceed from "the system"? History seems to say so; medieval art served the Church, the Renaissance served the princes, and most employed American artists serve commerce. American capitalism produced graphic art, architecture, design and film. Even our anti-art and popular and comic art comes from commercial inspiration (pop, op and objective art, animation, computer art and electronic music). The only American esthetic (with a major, universal impact) that owes nothing to capitalist values is the black esthetic, as reflected in its musical and dramatic art forms.

•Does revolutionary art have to be collective? Can artists brought up under "individualism" think collectively? Are artists inherently elitist?

Mary Beth Guinan
Chicago

Give it back to the pigs

Editor:

Your editorial on the swine flu vaccination program misses a very obvious solution to the controversy. There may be some doubt as to the susceptibility of swine (as pigs prefer to be called) to the ailment. Since there are fewer swine in this country than humans and since their flesh is worth more than human flesh in the open market of this society, the answer is to inoculate all of the swine. A massive program should be immediately instituted to inoculate the paltry few millions of swine in this country. Trained teams of medical personnel could be dispatched hither and yon across the land to vaccinate the animals.

Of course those swine that were wealthy enough to afford the shot from the veterinarian of their choice should be allowed that option. But in the case of swine without resources, the government should be the pig sticker of last resort. Television crews could be sent out to film the proceedings for viewing on the evening news and prominent pigs could be interviewed for their opinions of the program. Perhaps it is utopian to believe that all pigs would allow themselves to be guinea humans in the experiment, but perhaps enough would stem the alleged epidemic. And besides, it is far less utopian than believing that 200 million humans would allow themselves to be guinea pigs in a project to stem a disease that may or may not exist.

—Jacques Couchon
Paradise, Mont.

Trying to do the same

Editor:

I am very encouraged by the first few issues of *In These Times*. Wesleyan socialists are effectively spreading your newspaper to the four corners of our small campus and I'm sure you will find a substantial readership here.

Also, please share the enclosed copy of our own newspaper amongst your staff. Perhaps you will be encouraged to know that we are trying to do some of the same things here in Middletown that you hope to do nationwide.

—Andy Polsky
Assistant Editor, *Hermes*
Wesleyan University
Middletown, Conn.

A revolutionary situation in Italy?

Editor:

"A Leftwing Government Is Not Enough" (ITT, Nov. 29) contains inaccuracies as well as distortions that will prevent an objective judgment regarding developments in Italy. I was surprised to find this extraordinary Independent Socialist Newspaper present the first major piece on Italy from the viewpoint of the Proletarian Unity party (PDUP), a tiny left splinter, which is in considerable disarray ideologically and organizationally and which represents only its own 40,000 members. Far better first to give an overview of the complicated and extremely delicate political situation of the Italian socialist working class movement, and then also point out the position of the PDUP.

The millions of Italian Communist party (PCI) members and voters participate in the most highly sophisticated political-educational processes. They read and study communist and socialist publications on a large scale—newspapers (daily and weekly), magazines, books. There's a continuous dialogue in their own ranks as well as with the Christian Democrats. It is impossible at this stage of Italian history to stop the flow of dialogue on all major questions; the position of the PCI is too widely known. And it is quite disappointing to read that a leader of the small splinter party, the PDUP, G. Magoni, can present a distorted and untrue picture of developments without comment by the author or editors.

Examples: 1) Magoni is quoted as saying that to avoid the army and police force from turning against the revolution, as in Chile, the PDUP is organizing a democratic movement among the soldiers and police, while "the PCI doesn't like this. They prefer to negotiate with the army and police from the top." But the work of PCI cells within the armed forces has been discussed openly in the communist press, even while negotiations are also proceeding at the top.

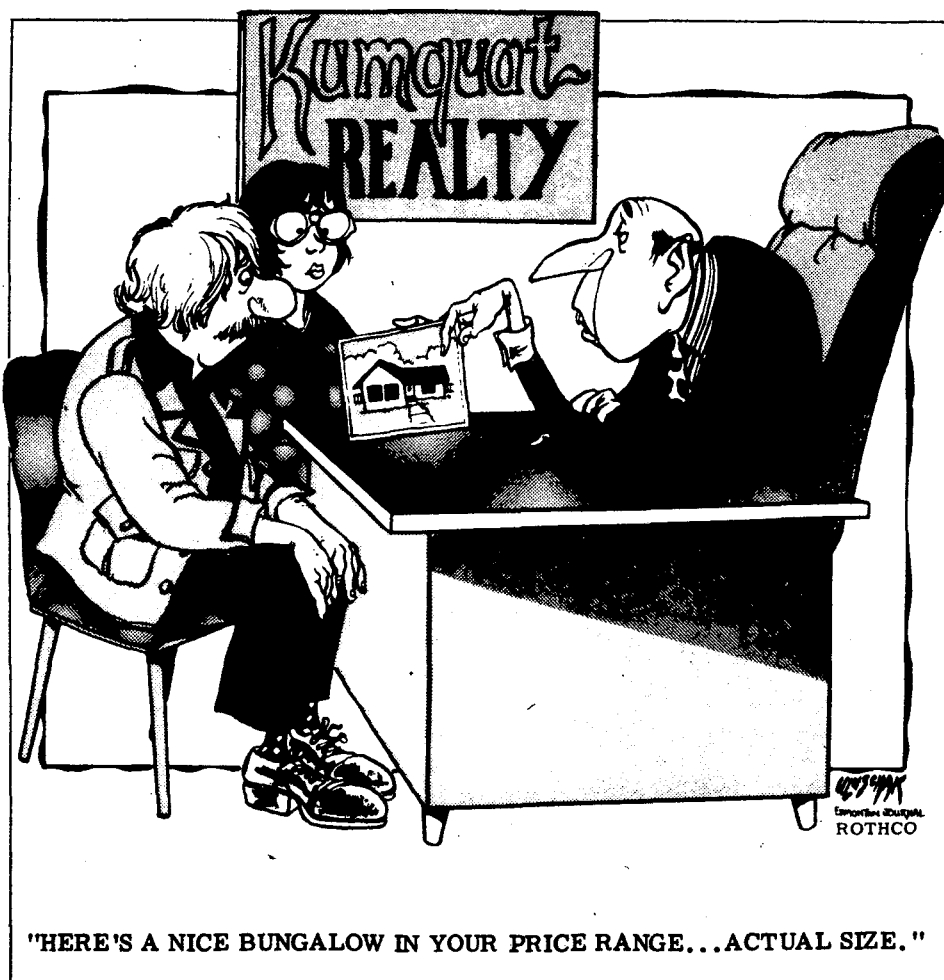
2) Magoni complains that the trouble with the PCI policy is that it won't prepare the people for the kind of struggle necessary to achieve independence from the U.S.; because the PCI fears a similar coup in Italy as was perpetrated by the U.S. in Chile in 1973, the Communists don't press too hard. "But it's like giving in to blackmail," Magoni says. "Support for the deflationary policy will mean higher prices for utilities and the like, higher taxes, and lower wages."

Who in Italy is today more aware of this situation than the PCI? It is fighting with the working class to relieve the poor of the pressure of the impossible tax situation, and shift the burden to those who can pay; it is fighting against the rise in utilities; its members in the trade unions are the most disciplined contingents in carrying out the strike actions of their respective unions, whether it be for higher wages or for shorter working hours, or other important demands.

The fundamental question from which Magoni shied away is whether there is a revolutionary situation prevalent now in Italy. The PCI estimates that a revolutionary situation cannot develop without the active participation of the three major forces in the country: the Christian Democratic masses, the Socialists and the Communists. The PCI's entire program is geared toward creating a situation in which these forces will work together and fight together for the fundamental change in society that the PCI teaches must eventually take place.

—E.S. Berto
Venice, Calif.

Editor's note: We did publish an article on the PCI in the issue prior to the one discussed here. See "The Left in Italy's Crisis" (ITT, Nov. 21-28).



Joshua Dressler

Death penalty is class punishment; Socialists must join opposition



By the time this column reaches your eyes the macabre spectacle going on in Utah may have reached its final climax. Gary Gilmore may have gotten what he, and apparently most Utahans, say they want—his extermination. Although the fate of Gilmore appears sealed, the spectacle of mass executions is only beginning. More than 592 people sit on death rows throughout the nation, awaiting death in the various ways our society has devised. More significantly, the population of these death islands are growing weekly at a startling rate.

Nobody has been executed in the United States since June 2, 1967. There is a special irony in Gilmore's being the first human sacrifice since then. Gilmore is a white male; the murder he perpetrated was particularly vicious. He exudes almost as much warmth as Richard Nixon. Many will point to these facts to support their thesis that the death penalty is a valid governmental act. In fact, however, Gilmore's place on death row and his membership in the roles of those executed support just the opposite conclusion.

Statistics are often kept regarding those awaiting death. Much has been made of the fact that a grossly disproportionate number of non-whites are executed. It was partially this reality that led the Supreme Court in 1972, in the case of *Furman v. Georgia* to declare invalid virtually all death penalty statutes then in existence. The court noted that juries had been given unlimited discretion to decide which murderers would be executed and which would be given life imprisonment. The Court pointed to the fact that certain groups seemed to be singled out by juries for the special punishment of death, most notably "racial" minorities.

This was true, of course, but it misses

the main point. Race is not the overriding factor that explains who ends up on death row. After *Furman* was decided, 35 states rewrote their death statutes to take unbridled discretion away from juries. Nonetheless, the racial complexion of death row has not changed. Prior to *Furman*, a staggering 53 percent of those awaiting death were non-white. Since the Court decision and the promulgation of the non-arbitrary statutes, 51 percent of those sentenced to death are non-white.

The point regarding the death penalty, then, is less the racial aspect, or even the arbitrary character of the system by which we select the honored members of the row. No matter what death penalty statute is devised, the key strand that draws together all those awaiting death will remain the same: their class origin. The death penalty is a class weapon, a class punishment. In California, for example, of the 61 people presently awaiting death, 48 percent are non-white, but 100 percent were either unemployed or working at very low wages when the alleged killings occurred.

As long, therefore, as we retain the social system of capitalism, death rows will necessarily be frequented almost entirely by the poor. Capitalism breeds all of the factors that cause people to turn to violence: unemployment, "escape" through drugs, and the deep frustration of seeing a select few living handsomely at the apparent expense of the many.

The class aspect goes deeper than the fact that poor people tend to kill more frequently. Class distinctions also tend to cause police to ignore the crimes of the non-poor, and prosecutors to charge wealthy murderers with lesser crimes (such as manslaughter or assault).

Furthermore, poverty expresses itself

in the judicial process. The not-so-funny joke of "how much justice can you afford?" is all too close to reality. Those who can afford counsel of their choice tend to be convicted of murder less often than those who must accept the assistance of the over-worked Public Defender. Likewise, among those convicted of murder, as Texas figures indicate in one recent period, 31 of the 39 who were represented by court-appointed counsel received the death penalty. Among those who could afford paid counsel, only 11 of 20 were given the heavier sentence.

This is why socialists must fight the death penalty in the United States. The Supreme Court ruled in July 1976 that the death penalty for murder was not, in itself, "cruel and unusual punishment," yet many legal and non-legal avenues remain untraveled.

First, the court declared unconstitutional various state laws that failed to allow convicted defendants to argue mitigating circumstances that might cause a jury not to order an execution. Court battles in many states are now challenging state laws that seem to fail in this respect. In the long run, however, this legal avenue is a dead end. If successful, these court battles will save the lives of those now awaiting death, an important victory, but the states will simply rewrite their statutes and resume executions of others at a later date.

There are more fruitful legal avenues available. Presently, prosecutors may prevent those opposed to the death penalty from being on a jury. This ought to be declared unconstitutional. Even more important, virtually no state presently gives a poor person sufficient resources to prepare proof to a jury that he does not deserve the death penalty. Thus the

Court has given the convicted murderer a right without a remedy. Finally, most states will furnish no counsel to prepare post-conviction appeals to executive clemency boards and other such bodies.

As usual, however, the long-term solution is not through the courts. The Supreme Court unwittingly has shown the way in its death penalty decisions. It has made clear that the concept of "cruel and unusual punishment" changes with public sentiment and some more obscure notion of human dignity. Thus the court is making clear once again what Mr. Dooley said in 1901 in reference to the American seizure of the Philippines: The Constitution may not follow the flag, but the Supreme Court follows the election returns.

This is a clear signal to socialists to join hands with criminologists, religious leaders, and civil libertarians to educate the public regarding the death penalty. While others can show that executions do not deter crime, and while the morality of the death penalty is debated, socialists must strike hard at the class nature of the penalty, and more fundamentally, at the social reasons for violence.

Berkeley attorney Ann Fagan Ginger recently wrote in the *National Lawyers Guild Practitioner* that "The Nixon Court is not the court of last resort. That function is reserved, in our country, for the people." Socialists should turn now in that direction.

Joshua Dressler is a lawyer who teaches at the University of San Fernando Valley College of Law, Los Angeles. His column appears regularly.



Ira Schor

Part-time workers move around a lot—But 'non-career career' is revolving door

With full-time jobs scarcer, part-time work keeps more and more people going in circles. Business and government are not only cutting gains made by unionized workers, but they are also freezing job opportunities for the rest. The merry-go-round world of the part-time workers is one of motion without progress. Their terrain is villaged with low-pay, temporary positions in a wide variety of dead-end jobs, supplemented by unemployment, off-the-books hustling, public assistance and college attendance.

In low-skill and growth areas of the economy, part-timers are indispensable to profit margins. Retail sales and fast foods, like MacDonalds, keep an army of unskilled labor tied to short-shift strings. The use of part-time employees is also profitable in the public sector, for managers who face shrinking budget allocations. A conference has been called just to promote use of part-time staff in community colleges. Already in these schools for workers, young instructors have been laid-off and re-hired part-time, for half-pay or less.

All workers who have to settle for less than full-time work—especially the young, women and minorities—take part in a magical business profit-formula. The problem is that the profits don't go to them. They are simply paid less for doing the same amount of work as full-timers. Further, part-time staff don't un-

ionize as easily as do full-time workers, so they rarely get health plans, pensions, vacations, and sick leave. The lunch-hour, almost mandatory in an eight-hour shift, can be eliminated in a four- to six-hour workday. Part-timers are expected to eat before, after or on the job, or between jobs. They are also encouraged to lower their aspirations. No careerist ballyhoo surrounds their no-frills work. In contrast, many full-timers expect some kind of "career ladder" along with fringes and security. In an economic crisis, the part-time job market manages to elevate profits while it depresses worker aspirations.

Even as the economy stagnates, it remains diverse. Our advanced society still offers workers some choices. The spouse who enters a part-time job as a supplement to the breadwinner's main income can still think of a 20-hour job as an advance for the family. For workers who seek but can't find full-time work, confinement to the part-time work-world is softened by the ability to move laterally. Lateral options come from the large number of enterprises that use part-time labor. Workers can go from food service to retail sales to clerical desks to gas pumps to table-waiting to boiling bagels between midnight and dawn. Few of the jobs are satisfying, but at least they are all different. Indeterminate periods of part-time work in the private sector can

be juggled with spans of unemployment benefits, or with unrecorded hustling like gardening or cleaning for private homes, or helping on a truck, or vending on the streets, or taking in typing.

The public sector, especially in health and recreation, can offer some chances for a few hours work during the week. However, government cut-backs have made public service labor harder to come by. More reliable are the seasonal demands of private enterprise, even if they are short-lived. Here-today-gone-tomorrow part-time work is especially available in retail sales during the pre-Christmas rush, and in recreation or agriculture or construction during warm weather. The "seasonal" aspects of public employment are found in life-guarding on state beaches, or the post office in December, or school districts in September of February, when instant demands for part-time and substitute teachers open up for the legions of unemployed college grads.

Laid off between seasonal or dead-end jobs, workers not only have the option of collecting unemployment benefits, but many are able to enroll in college. Community colleges still offer opportunities to workers to accumulate credits, gain credentials, and get the best formal education they've ever had, despite narrowing admissions policies. In college between jobs, or while working part-time, workers can use such income supplements

as welfare, food stamps, the military reserve, veteran's benefits, campus work-study jobs and off-campus internships. These options are not fun to have or easy to get, but they do cushion the impact of declining full-time employment. Wrapping up a package of subsistence options is a "non-career career" forced on many workers for whom the economy has no full-time work. It demands constant attention just to make ends meet.

The workers who find themselves on a part-time merry-go-round are not especially happy there. They take their revenge in sabotage, theft, absenteeism and low productivity. When young workers get flush from hitting a number, or settling an insurance claim, or from a month's straight work, or from a small family legacy, or just married with a bundle of cash gifts, they often fix up a van and head out west. When the money and the van wear out, they hitch back and start again with the lateral options. But, moving around is just not moving up. Energy sapped and talent untouched, the part-time worker's life is a rite of passage through revolving doors. For an economic crisis they didn't cause, they are asked to pay heavy dues. Eventually, they will present their own full-time bill.

Ira Schor teaches English at Staten Island Community College. His column appears regularly.

Editorial

Retrieve the legislative branch

In last week's editorial we argued that the reassertion of congressional initiative against presidential power portended a critical realignment in American politics. We noted that Congress, like legislative bodies at the state, county, and municipal levels, was more susceptible to popular initiative and control than the executive branch. Through most of this century, the executive branch at all levels has been the focal point of corporate political power and influence and corporate concentration of wealth and power in society at large has operated to shift policy-making authority from the legislative branch to the more inaccessible recesses of various executive agencies, commissions, and other appointive bodies at all levels of government.

Carter's key cabinet appointments so far indicate that he will be no exception to the rule of talking "populism" to the voters, while performing as the executive of the corporate order once elected. His proposal that Congress grant him plenary powers over the next four years to reorganize the executive bureaucracy without substantial congressional participation is in the same vein.

In the last four years, Congress has begun to establish the mechanisms for challenging the President and the cabinet for initiative in policy-making. In particular, it has moved in the three basic areas of budget-making, information gathering and the war power.

The meaning for socialists in these developments lies first in the social and political changes that have given rise to the changes and second in the opportunities for action they open up.

Watergate and the anti-democratic designs of the Nixon administration may have been the immediate occasion for the resurgence of congressional activity, but underlying this is the exhaustion of liberal reform as a means to pacify class antagonisms.

The era of easy imperialist corporate growth, nurturing jobs and income expansion at home, is over. Such growth has always been the condition of reform at home. Today's reforms are increasingly conservative in nature, and more often than not set one group of working people against another. There is increasing skepticism of reforms offered by the major parties, and of policy alternatives that pose employment against inflation, or social compassion against inordinate taxes, or serviceable government against centralized bureaucratic monstrosities.

Support for corporate expansion abroad and old style reforms at home is declining. But the desire for change is not.

In general, people are not clear in their own minds about the kind of changes needed. But it is clear that their needs increasingly go beyond the system's capacities.

The central political issues of the past four decades have changed as well. Starting in the 1930s with the passage of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Social Security Act, and with increasing pervasiveness since the 1950s, issues involving the struggle between the corporate need for profit and the needs of working people, between capital and labor, have come more and more to dominate American politics, while older issues involving intra-bourgeois conflicts have receded.

Prominent among these capital-labor issues has been the push for full employment planning, inadequately embodied in the Humphrey-Hawkins bill; various proposals for national health insurance; federal aid to cities to fund public services and employment; restrictions on overseas corporate investment; transfer

of funds from military spending to social programs; uniform federal welfare standards; industrial health and safety; consumer protection; reallocation of federal subsidies from automobile to public transportation and other measures that reflect the increasing assertiveness of working class interests against traditional profitability.

In short, the struggle between capital and labor for control over the nation's economy has moved into the center of the political arena, pitting the principle of economic and social democracy against corporate priorities. Institutionally, this struggle is polarizing along lines of Congress as the potential people's branch *versus* the executive as the corporate branch.

Congress is still conducting the skirmish timidly, even reluctantly, because corporate power still reaches broadly and deeply into the Congressional power structure. Most members of Congress still do not represent the popular cause nor do they fully understand corporate power as its enemy.

The Harris poll reported two weeks after the past election that over 80 percent of the people want Congress to listen more to the people, that close to 80 percent want the government to help the poor, the elderly, and others hard hit by inflation, that almost three-fifths want Congress to curb the power of the President, that the great majority want Congress to act as the people's branch against vested interests and oligarchic power. They want other things that are inconsistent with these, but that kind of confusion may be expected in the absence of a sustained and popular socialist movement helping to clarify and more sharply define the issues.

Socialists should enter electoral politics, *as socialists*, with their focus on the legislative branch at all levels of government, from the city councils to Congress. They should join with trade unionists, blacks and other national minorities, women's movements, teachers, consumer and ecology groups, anti-redlining groups, hospital and other service worker groups, etc., in drafting social goals programs for the people and against corporate power.

They should run candidates from among their ranks rather than simply supporting the lawyers and other operators put up by the regular major party or silk-

stocking reform organizations. They should campaign on a social goals program, and between elections maintain social goals assemblies for continuous week-in and week-out development, agitation and organization around their program.

In calling for this kind of electoral activity, we are breaking with what have been two prevalent approaches to electoral work by socialists: First, the concentration on presidential politics that has characterized the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) led by Michael Harrington; second, the quadrennial, largely ritual presidential campaigns by the various socialist parties.

The DSOC strategy of socialist participation in presidential elections, given the present state of party politics, enmeshes socialists in the process of filling an office that is currently beyond the hope of popular control. It can only lead to discrediting socialist leadership and judgment through an inevitable series of debilitating compromises and post-election disillusionments. There is no shortcut to socialism, but if there were one, it would not lie through the White House. There is no point to socialists lending themselves to electing "better" executives of the corporate order.

On the other hand, the running of socialist presidential slates is no less effective. The fact that its purpose is primarily to recruit new members to narrowly doctrinal groups largely divorces the slate-running activity from the major arenas of popular political activity and discredits socialists in the eyes of the people as not seriously out to win on their behalf and not seriously concerned for their democratic aspirations in the here and now.

If socialists want to be politically relevant, if they want to participate in and help shape the direction of popular working class movements, they will learn from what people want and from being with the people in their electoral activity. They will continue their work-place and community protest activity but also begin to focus on participation in contesting for control of the legislative process—both in elections and in the development of programs around major issues and the mobilization of support for them.

Our view of the emergence of socialism as a major political movement in American political life necessarily rules out a

concentration on doctrinal matters (not to be confused with theory and principles) that center upon organizational narrowness and verbal purity.

We see socialism emerging in the United States as a multi-faceted and multi-tendency movement, reinvigorating and fulfilling American democracy. A majority movement for socialism in the United States can never be built within the confines of the traditional doctrinal socialist parties as they now exist. The history of the past 50 years amply demonstrates that and it is time to draw the lesson.

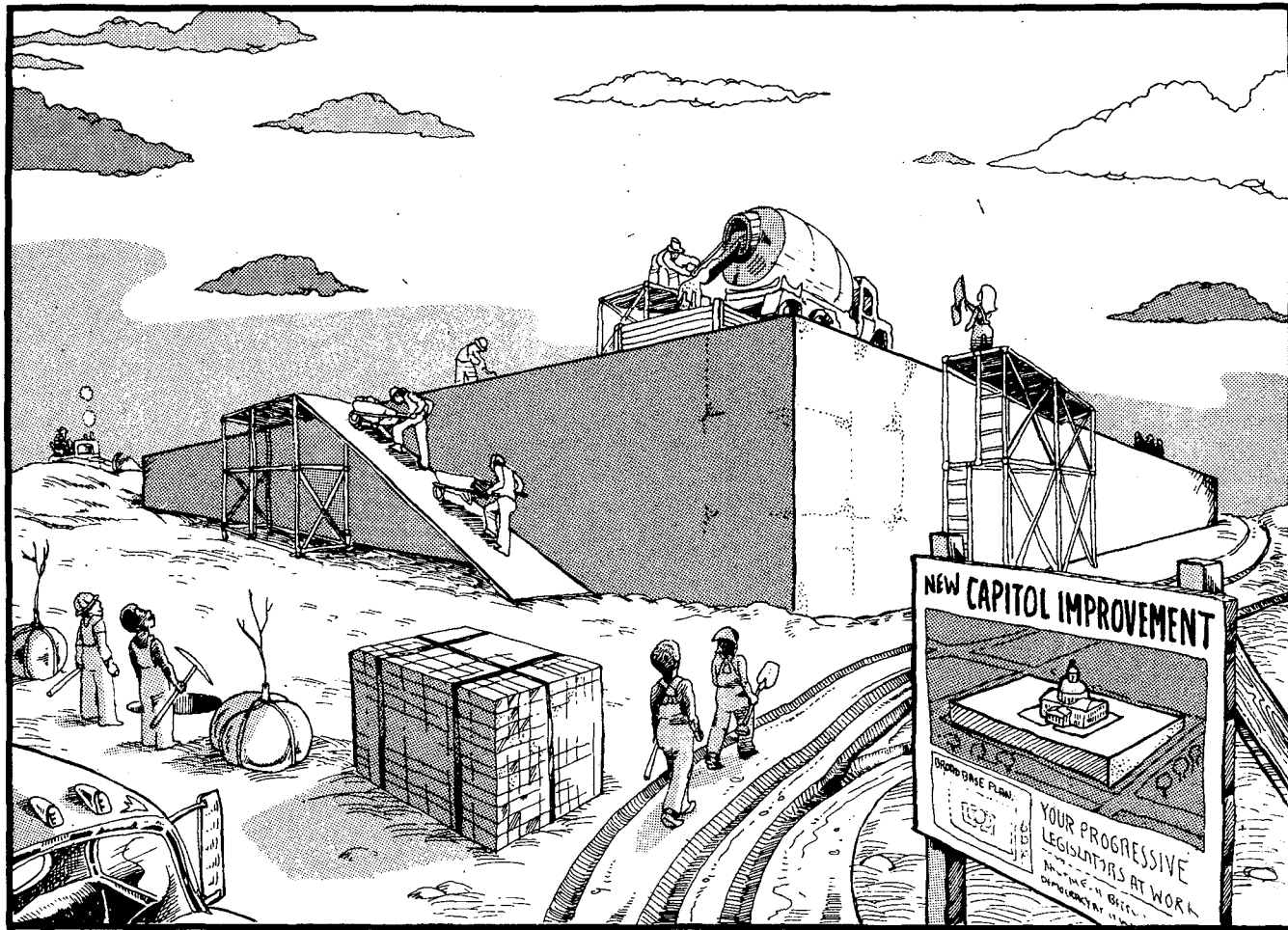
Socialism will emerge as a major movement in American politics, and in incipient form already is beginning to emerge, as a broad diverse array of movements that will take party form when it has the prospect of becoming a major party, by transforming or replacing one of the existing major parties.

In the meantime, socialists should participate in all available electoral arenas—in major party primaries, in non-partisan elections for city councils or county boards of supervisors or boards of education, and in partisan elections as socialists where there is any chance of success.

At the close of this bicentennial year, it is fitting to recall that John Adams said that the happiness of society is both the purpose and the test of government, and that government in the United States today under the sway of corporate power neither fulfills that purpose nor meets that test. Adams warned that concentration of wealth would transform the republic into an oligarchy. People increasingly know these things and want a change. Socialists should be at the forefront of the struggle for that change.

Adams also held that the legislative branch "should be in miniature an exact portrait of the people at large. It should think, feel, reason, and act like them." Socialists should play a leading role, and have every interest, in helping to draw that portrait and bring it to life.

Corporate power is accustomed to virtual monopoly in the market and over government. It is time to break up the corporate monopoly, not by anti-trust suits, but by beginning to retrieve the legislative branch to the people and making it the champion of the sovereignty of the people and their happiness, against the usurpations of oligarchic corporate power.



In These Times cartoon by Jim Yanagisawa